National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 27. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1866. WHOLE NO. 1,379.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 39 Nassau Street, New York.

THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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JOHN JAY'S ADDRESS TO THE NEW YORK UNION LEAGUE CLUB.

BY W. W. BROOM, EDITOR OF "TEMPLE OF OPINIONS."

[*First Article.*]

It is not generally known that John Jay is President of the Union League Club of our city; still less is it known that he has sent from Paris an Address to this same club of friends of impartial rights. It seems to me to be due to our cause, to John Jay, and to the public, that the nature of this long and earnest Address should be indicated outside the circle of wealthy and fashionable clubmen. There is more than one reason why this should be done. The labors of a friend should be recognized and regarded. The words of every man and woman who can write clearly and speak firmly on our conflict and our perils should be carefully scanned. The utterances of those who represent commercial, industrial, political and religious corporations demand the closest attention and severest criticism. These reasons apply to the Address and life and position of John Jay. His words are emphatic, if not always profound. As President of the New York Union League Club, he represents the largest combination of wealthy gentlemen in our city; who are the directors of the forces of civilization in our State and who are the cream of *fashionable abolition radicalism* in our city and State. We cannot pass by the words of such a man without ignoring the opinions and sentiments of a large number of our citizens; nor without committing a foolishness to ourselves.

John Jay's present position before the public is a fruitful source of retrospective thought and mutual congratulation. He belonged to us Abolitionists when the name was one of scorn, derision, degradation and persecution. He came from a sound, incorruptible stock. His father was a man of right principles, consistency and energy. The son inherited alike the "silver spoons" and the silver purity of conscience. They lived not only in "times that tried men's souls," but in times that severely tried the vital forces of bodies and brains. John Jay has had his reward, as we all have had. He has had a crown of more than Athenian glory, as we all are having. He has lived to be applauded, admired, feasted and honored by his old political opponents. And all of us Abolitionists have been crowned with the victory of an agitation, waged to uplift into freedom, manhood and womanhood those who had been stolen, sold, oppressed and crushed. John Jay was unanimously elected President of the Union League Club of our city (during his absence in Paris), *because* he had been and still is a consistent Abolitionist; just as our friend Wendell Phillips was zealously urged to go to Congress because *he* had been and still is true to himself, to mankind, and to the God of the widow and the fatherless. Verily there is recognition and gratitude for each one of us, if we will work, wait and confide. The aroma of heaven is sent to perfume our lives with *courage* and *virtue*, even in the midst of the fiercest hurricanes of ignorance, passion and barbarism. It is the faithless who die unrewarded, unrespected, and unregretted. He or she whose heart is tremulous with care and sympathy for the woes of the oppressed, the agonies of the outcast, and the rights of the helpless, will have a "mansion" to live in on earth as well as in "my father's house."

There are some weak parts in John Jay's Address that I am not disposed to vigorously protest against. He has partly indicated the cause of this weakness; it is his absence in a far-off clime from the exciting contest. Facts and changes reached him *after* he had sent portions of his Address to the Parisian printers; for the Address was printed in Paris, and from the Paris copy, an edition has been printed in our city for the exclusive use of the members of the Union League Club.

I now proceed to extract for the public the salient parts of this Address. Little comment upon them is needed. They tell their own tale, and commend themselves to old and young Abolitionists alike. The extracts I am about to make embrace the past, the present, and the future. I begin with a passage of laudation that may seem questionable to the men of Massachusetts, but which contains a moral and historical fact. Jay thus speaks of

NEW YORK'S INFLUENCE.

"Relieved by its easy pre-eminence in all the elements of metropolitan greatness from even the suspicion of envy of its sister cities, New York is universally recognized as the commercial centre of the continent, interested in the prosperity of its remotest parts; and the fast growing centre also of science, art, and letters, which are henceforth to be numbered among the crowning glories of our free Republic. It is also worthy of note, that the feeling of national and individual pride with which our fellow-citizens from every quarter tread our streets and feel themselves at home, is strengthened by the thought that our Revolutionary history and colonial annals, from the settlement of New Amsterdam by the Dutch, the English, and the Huguenots, with their broad views of political freedom and religious toleration, were the fitting antecedents of a city which, excepting only the disloyal element, which you so notably hold in check, has nothing narrow or provincial in its character.

"Thus it has come to pass that, instead of representing simply the interest of a State, or the views of a section, New York, the acknowledged metropolis of the Republic, represents the largest interest, the grandest characteristics, and, excepting the anti-national sympathies of a class, the truest principles of the American people."

The wandering of the people from early principles and a noble declaration, the demoralizing of public opinion by the Democratic party are thus photographed:

"After a national existence of ninety years passed in the violation of rights which we ourselves had proclaimed sacred, chastised and humbled, we return to the truth to which we pledged ourselves when we took our place in the family of nations. We have renounced before the law slavery and caste; we have repudiated, in determining the personal rights of citizens, aristocracy of color and classification of race; we stand upon the simple doctrine of our fathers, that all men are born with an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Our countrymen have learned late and slowly, but they have learned sadly and surely, that with this sign only, can they maintain the unity, freedom, and honor of our Republic.

"In contempt of that foundation-principle of the government, the Democratic party, swayed by slavery, had promulgated the doctrine that the chains of the slave were the bonds of the Union. So stubbornly had this idea perverted the national judgment, that when, after meditating the assault for a quarter a century, slavery threw off its cloak of devotion to the Union and assaulted the government in open rebellion, even the Republican administration of Mr. Lincoln hesitated to recognize in slavery the nation's foe, and evinced a readiness to court and cherish it as before."

It is an old story how *wrong* reaps a harvest of evil to the doers of wrong. It is beginning to be an old tale how our war has suddenly and sternly taught the people. But memory fades from nations as from individuals, and the "recurrence of sensations" (said by Herbert Spencer to constitute memory) is necessary about facts and influences in the progressive welfare of humanity. Therefore, we listen devoutly to John Jay's repeating of

THE LESSON TAUGHT BY WAR.

"It seems impossible to mistake the lesson taught us by the war at every step, in its inception, its progress, and its close. It is that we cannot trample with impunity on the rights of the blacks, and plead color or race as an apology for the crime; but that our mutual rights and liberties and interests, however widely separated in appearance, are in reality so identified by the Ruler of nations, that if we would enjoy the blessings of a free government we must accord these blessings equally to them.

"This is undoubtedly the deep conviction of the loyal part of the American people, whose sleepless energy and undying patriotism maintained the war, in spite of obstacles and blunders, and the blood of whose sons and brothers has been shed on the battle-fields of our country, that henceforth the prosperity of America can consist only with justice."

The limitless forces of political, moral, and social purity involved in the rebellion are yet to be comprehended and appreciated by every man and woman in our country. The words of every one who does comprehend and appreciate should be scattered among the people, like yellow-leaves of mysterious change from stalwart trees in the mellowing Autumn time. So Jay says the war was a

CONTEST OF PRINCIPLES.

"The war of the rebellion was not a chance insurrection without a cause, a pretext, or an object; it was a contest of antagonistic principles of world-wide interest, of hereditary privilege against eternal right, of aristocratic assumption against popular freedom; and the great Union party met the shock, fought the fight, and won the victory for our country and mankind.

"Wherever you find a noble people, like the Italians for instance, longing to throw off the chains of ignorance and superstition, to rid themselves of the temporal despotism of Rome, and the insolent domination of Austria, they look to the example of America as to the guiding star of freedom."

It is impossible for any person to write a long Address on our politics without alluding to Reconstruction. The subject has been made a sham and a delusion by a usurping President. A plain and simple subject evolved from stern facts left to take care of itself by a timid and waiting Congress. Now we have tons of useless or misleading paper on the subject, making "confusion worse confounded." Talking against time in Parliament is nothing as compared with converting a simple subject into an intellectual maze for traitors, grinning rebels, fools, and usurpers to disport within. But here are Jay's words on

RECONSTRUCTION.

"The reconstruction of our Republic is already far advanced by the rescue of the South from the rebel tyranny at Richmond, which had extinguished all State rights and personal freedom, and by their restoration to the protection of the National government, with universal freedom, opening a new future of intelligence and prosperity. The completion of the task is one that demands the wisest, calmest statesmanship, for it is the work not for a day, but for all time. It concerns the destiny of our Continent, and the fulfilment of its highest hopes, our peace and harmony, our prosperity and strength at home, our honor, power, and prestige abroad. Upon our successful solution of this problem, if problem it can still be called, where the solution is so plain, depends the continuance of that moral influence which, since the fall of the rebellion and the emancipation of the slaves, has made the very name of America a power, that in distant lands inspires the masses with hope and their oppressors with fear."

John Jay's Address is noteworthy for its enunciation of national views and recommendation of national actions. Our political action, hitherto, has been *sectional*, geographically, politically and morally. The writer of these lines, more than twelve months back, insisted that a new political party would have to be formed with a creed of pure National American Republicanism. Those who care to study the subject, can see the writer's thoughts in *Great and Grave Questions for American Politicians.*

THE UNION PARTY'S POLICY.

"The policy of the Union party must continue to be, as it has been, broad and national, looking always to the welfare of the whole country, and never to that of a section or a faction. Like all great parties, it has the misfortune to be misrepresented, and hampered at times by politicians bent upon power and plunder, ready to adopt any principle or policy, anti-slavery or pro-slavery, that may for the time assist their purpose, or even to sacrifice at once the party and the country.

"This was done by the professed Republicans who insidiously, at a most critical moment, defeated Wadsworth, and elected in his stead Horatio Seymour. And that dark deed should be remembered whenever the trading politicians, by whom it was perpetrated, recommend or oppose a national policy, and especially when their councils tend to divide and weaken the Union party, as on that occasion, when their treachery subjected the country to prolongation of the war at a fearful waste of blood and treasure."

The Union League Club has unequivocally committed itself to equal suffrage. It is a powerful ally. It shows that not only is "Wall street with us," to use Wendell Phillips's averment, but that imperious fashion is also, at last, with us in the demand for Equal Rights.

THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION.

"In regard to the question of suffrage among the freedmen, I am strongly inclined to believe, as I have already intimated, that the national policy of equal rights established by the Amendment to the Constitution, restoring in their full force, without the exception worked by slavery, the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, not as 'glittering generalities,' but as sober facts, has rendered inconsistent with the principles of republican government, under the present national policy, the class legislation of the States based upon the now extinguished exception."

The following remarks are worth repeating on the

ANTAGONISM OF RACE.

"The antagonism of race which has hitherto existed between the whites and the blacks was the fruit of slavery, and unless fostered by unequal laws and for partisan purposes, it is likely to yield steadily to fair treatment, to the advancement wrought by education, and especially to the influence of a common interest.

"This was the case on our country's battle-fields, our Generals know it well, before the inspiration of a common patriotism and a common danger."

John Jay admits the indebtedness of the nation to the negro. He fortifies his opinion with the opinions of Sherman and Lincoln, whose words should be continually enunciated.

THE KEEPERS OF LIBERTY'S JEWEL.

"Our observant statesmen early in the war, who were intimate with the scope of American principles, and impressed with the logic of events, instinctively recognized the fact that whenever our country should enroll the slaves as defenders of the flag, she would initiate a policy and incur responsibilities that could not be repudiated when the war was ended.

"'If,' said Gen. Sherman, 'you admit the negro to this struggle for any purpose, he has a right to stay in it for all; and when the fight is over the hand that drops the musket cannot be denied the ballot.'

"Mr. Lincoln, whose words will ever fall upon attentive ears in the country that he loved and served so well, in speaking of the glorious result of the war in saving the destinies of our Republic, recalled the fact that there were 'some black men who can remember that they helped mankind to this great consummation;' and in his letter recommending that some of them should be let in, in defining the suffrage in Louisiana, he said with a prophetic truth, which the American people are beginning to realize, that 'they would probably help in some trying time to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom.'"

MR. HUGHES, M.P., ON MR. EYRE'S FRIENDS AND OPPONENTS.

Mr. THOMAS HUGHES, M.P., has commenced his duties as London correspondent of the New York *Tribune*. In one of the earliest of his letters he refers in the following terms to the pending trial of ex-Gov. Eyre, and comments on the position assumed by Messrs. Kingsley, Carlyle, and Ruskin on the one hand, and the Jamaica Committee on the other:

It is curious how the test of the treatment of inferior races divides men in our time more keenly and subtly than any other. I never now can really depend upon an Englishman's political faith until I know how he felt about your rebellion, or how he is feeling about this outbreak of ours in Jamaica. He may have talked and professed liberalism from his youth up, and honestly too, but if he went wrong five years ago, in favor of the last new nineteenth century power, with slavery for its cornerstone, or if he is now shouting and subscribing for Eyre, all his talk and professions are but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. I have no doubt, from all I gather from your journals, and from my American friends, that it is just the same with you. It is only true liberals, those in whom the faith, that all men are born free and equal, goes down deeper than their dinner, who can stand the notion of absolute equality before the law for all colors, either with you or us, and, to my mind, none others deserve the name. We shall see how the hosts muster as regards present strength in your Fall elections, and in our Eyre and anti-Eyre demonstrations.

The foremost men on the wrong side with us, as yet, are Carlyle, Ruskin, and Kingsley. Our people are calling them renegades, but this is not fair. The only one to whom the name can with even *prima facie* fairness be given, is Kingsley. Carlyle has been a power worshipper, and a despiser of freedom any time this twenty-five years. Reverence him as one does, and must, there is no denying this. Ruskin has been the captive of Carlyle's bow and spear for the last ten years, or nearly that. He is intensely clear, keen, and narrow; can never see more than one side, and is as bigoted a hero worshipper, both in the good and evil sense, as his great master. He is fond now of saying "I am a king's man, not a mob's man," including tyrant in his term king, and people in his term mob. But Charles Kingsley had far more real popular sympathy in him at one time. I remember nearly twenty years ago, at one of a series of meetings of the leaders of our London working men, called by Mr. Maurice and a lot of young lawyers and parsons who were working with him, Kingsley making a speech in which he declared himself a Chartist, and gave his reasons, carrying the whole meeting enthusiastically with him. Three or four years later again, at the time of the first great exhibition, I remember his preaching his celebrated sermon on freedom, equality, and brotherhood, in a London pulpit, to which he had been specially invited by the incumbent, who rose up in the reading desk, scared, and made a protest against the doctrine and the preacher, the moment he had finished. Afterwards he was one of the chief leaders among the Christian Socialists, and wrote constantly in their paper, and a series of tracts, under the *non de plume* of Parson Lot. One of his tracts in this series, called Cheap Clothes and Nasty, had a considerable reputation at the time, and deserved it. His early books, too, The Saint's Tragedy, Yeaste, and Alton Locke, had the true liberal ring in them. But for all that, those who knew him best always said that his sympathies at the bottom were strongly aristocratic, and so it has proved. He was bred in a school where deference to mere rank was a part of the creed. Moreover, his brother Henry who was out in Australia during Eyre's exploring trips, came home a great admirer of the ex-Governor, and inoculated his big brother before the Jamaica riots occurred; and lastly, Kingsley's family owned West India property, and were great losers by emancipation. Taking all this into consideration, I think one may regret very much the prominent part which he has thought fit to take in this matter, without quoting Browning's "Lost Leader" against him, or ceasing to respect and feel kindly toward a man who has done yeoman's service for the right at one time in his life.

On the other side the leading names on the Jamaica Committee are J. S. Mill, J. Bright, and Goldwin Smith. The Buxtons have left the committee, thereby of course damaging it seriously, but themselves, I think much more, on the ground that outrageously illegal and unrighteous as they admit Gov. Eyre's conduct to have been, they cannot see their way to putting him on his trial at home. A rich though not numerous section of the old anti-slavery party here has followed them, and it seems possible that their defection may make it impossible to raise the funds necessary to try Eyre for the illegal execution of Gordon. I cannot, however, myself, doubt that they will be forthcoming. Meantime the press here is strongly deprecating the trial. Even journals which were uniformly on the right side during your civil war, are giving an uncertain note, putting the case on a wrong issue, and villifying the Jamaica Committee. The Pall Mall *Gazette*, for instance, which is generally sound on legal questions, has said that the nation will not allow the "burden of a proof to lie on a British governor; that in taking measures for the public safety he has not been actuated by malice, or by any feeling which the English law will construe as malice." Now, the question of malice, on which it is thus attempted to ride off, has no bearing on the point at issue. Our law is so clear on this part of the case that I doubt whether any lawyer of character and standing would argue it. The last time that it was seriously argued was at the beginning of the century by Mr. Dallas, afterward Lord Chief Justice, in Gen. Picton's case, who was tried for signing an order for the torture of a colored girl in Trinidad, which had been recently taken from Spain, and of which he was governor. He urged again and again that there was no evidence to prove the most remote suspicion of malice, and again and again Lord Ellenborough, the judge who was trying the case, interrupted him with, "You cannot go into this, Mr. Dallas. The act, if unlawful, is presumed by our law to be malicious. The argument you are now stating would be of the highest importance if urged in mitigation of punishment, but to the question of guilty or not guilty it is wholly irrelevant." (State Trials, vol. 30, pp. 488,9.) The Jamaica Committee contend that the only issue is whether the seizure of Gordon in a district where the civil law was in force, and his transfer to a district under martial law, was not an illegal act. If illegal, the higher the position of the offender the more needful is it that the executive government here should not be able to screen him by refusing to proceed against him. The matter is very serious, and I cannot but hope that the Jamaica Committee will be successful.

The Jamaica Committee have issued the following address to their friends throughout the country:

65 Fleet street, London, October, 1866.

SIR: For the reasons set forth in the accompanying "statement"—to which particular attention is requested—the Jamaica Committee resolved to undertake the duty, to which the government had declined, of submitting to judicial investigation the conduct of Gov. Eyre and his subordinates in putting to death Mr. Gordon and other British subjects for treason, sedition, and other alleged offences without a lawful trial. The subscriptions and guarantees already received have justified the committee in taking the first steps; and they hope, by the time the courts resume their sittings, to be in possession of the opinion of eminent counsel as to the form of indictment and method of procedure. The process, owing to the distance of Jamaica, and other circumstances, will be very expensive; and it is evident that the committee will have to encounter a powerful resistance, backed by all the resources of wealth. They deem it necessary therefore, to appeal to the public to raise the fund to £10,000. Your personal aid is earnestly requested, both in the form of subscription or guarantee, and in that of endeavoring to secure the co-operation of your friends. In making this appeal, the committee desire once more to state that their sole object is to vindicate the law. That the law has not yet been vindicated, that the principles of public liberty and justice impugned by the acts of Gov. Eyre and his subordinates have not yet been effectively asserted, that no adequate security has been obtained against a repetition of such acts by men in power for the future, the Southampton banquet, the sentiments expressed at that banquet, the doctrines propounded by the chairman and other members of the Eyre Defence and Aid Committee, and the bearing of Mr. Eyre himself are sufficient proofs. The conduct of the ex-governor, so far from being repented of or repudiated, is held up as a model for imitation; and the committee submit that, as the matter at present stands, the public cannot feel assured that British subjects, who may have given offence to a party in power, will not again be put to death without a lawful trial; or that those who have been concerned in such proceedings will not again be applauded, caressed, and marked out for future reward and honor by peers, members of parliament, chaplains of Her Majesty, magistrates, and others persons in high station. The only adequate, as well as the only constitutional safeguard, is the decision of a court of justice, which, as the committee submit, those supporters of the ex-governor who believe that Mr. Gordon, Mr. Clark, and Mr. Lawrence came lawfully and fairly to their ends ought to be the last to decline. The committee also desire once more, in reply to persistent misrepresentation, to repeat that the acts for which they are about to prosecute were not done in the suppression of the so-called rebellion. Mr. Gordon, Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Lawrence all suffered after the period at which, as Mr. Eyre himself expressly stated, the insurrection had been completely crushed. They suffered, there is reason to suspect, for offence given to the party in power, quite independently of the disturbances, with which none of the three was proved to have been connected in any way whatever. While the interests of public liberty form the most obvious ground for an effectual protest against the lawless violence of persons in authority, it must not be forgotten that justice is also due to the memory and to the families of those who have been put to a felon's death, and buried as felons beneath the gallows, for crimes of which there is reason to believe they were not lawfully or justly convicted. The committee commend to your support an undertaking which they believe to be essential to the interests of public liberty and justice. They have come forward as private individuals to put the law in motion only on the positive and almost contumacious refusal of the government to do its duty, by inquiring into the cases in which there was reason to believe the lives of subjects of Her Majesty have been illegally taken. But having come forward, they will not fail the public, if the public will not fail them.

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IMPEACHMENT.

From the Chicago Tribune.

GEN. BUTLER, in his speech in Chicago, having discussed the propriety of impeaching Andrew Johnson, sundry journals, with a vast amount of assumed erudition, have undertaken to discuss the subject of impeachment as a moral, political and historical question. Impeachment of Federal officers have not been so common as to familiarize the public with the details of the forms of trial, yet they have been frequent enough in our history to demonstrate that the power was not an unnecessary one, and that it is one of the great safeguards which the Constitution has placed in the hands of the people, to be by them used for the protection of the country against corrupt and usurping officials, and against those who, holding offices of trust, may prostitute those offices to personal ends against the interests of the country. In all these newspaper articles there has been a remarkable omission of all reference to the only case having any bearing upon the question now before the public.

The latest, and, from its character, the governing case of impeachment, is that of West H. Humphreys, Judge of the District Court of the United States for the eastern, middle and western districts of the State of Tennessee. The House of Representatives, at the session commencing December, 1861, adopted a series of articles impeaching Judge Humphreys, and on the 22d of May, 1862, the Senate commenced the trial of the said charges. The articles of impeachment were seven in number. The first of these was to the effect.

"That regardless of his duties as a citizen of the United States, and unmindful of the duties of his said office, and in violation of the sacred obligation of his official oath, * * the said West H. Humphreys, on the 20th day of December, A.D. 1860, in the city of Nashville, in said State, the said West H. Humphreys then being a citizen of the United States, and owing allegiance thereto, and then and there being Judge, etc., at a public meeting on the day and year last aforesaid, held in said city of Nashville, and in the hearing of divers persons there present, did endeavor by public speech to incite revolt and rebellion within said State, against the Constitution and government of the United States, and did then and there publicly declare that it was the right of the people of said State, by an ordinance of secession, to absolve themselves from all allegiance to the government of the United States, the Constitution and the laws thereof."

It will be remembered that this man was a Judge of a United States Court, in a State whereof Andrew Johnson was then Governor. He was impeached through the instrumentality of Andrew Johnson and other citizens of Tennessee. He was impeached by a House of Representatives from which ten States were excluded; he was impeached by a House of Representatives in which he had no Representative, and in which only a small portion of the people of Tennessee could be heard. He was impeached by a "Rump Congress,"—by a body "hanging on the verge of the government," and "calling itself the Congress of the United States." He was tried by a Senate in which eleven States had no members. He was tried by a Senate from which eleven States, entitled to twenty-two votes, were excluded. He was tried by a Senate which, had these twenty-two votes been present, would not have convicted him. He was impeached by a House, and tried by a Senate into either of which no member from ten States could have been admitted.

But what makes this case a stronger precedent at the present time, is that the first article of the impeachment is for a speech, the sentiments of which were in contravention of his official duty. Upon this article, the vote was unanimously "guilty." Upon most of the charges there were some votes of not guilty, and upon one or more he was acquitted, but upon this charge of having made that speech he was convicted by an unanimous vote. The Constitution provides that

"The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office for and conviction of treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanors."

The House of Representatives are invested by the Constitution with the exclusive duty and power of impeaching a public officer. The Senate is invested with the exclusive duty and power of trying him. The House prepares the charges; the Senate sitting as a court, decides upon the sufficiency of the accusation, and whether it, if proved, constitutes "treason, bribery, or other high crime or misdemeanor." They hear the evidence. Their judgment is final, and the Constitution says that a conviction by two-thirds of the Senators present, shall be sufficient.

In this case of Humphreys, who was impeached, tried, convicted and removed from office through the active agency of Andrew Johnson, the Senate decided that a speech inciting people to revolt, or rebellion against the Constitution and government, by an officer sworn to fidelity to both, was sufficient offence to sustain an impeachment therefor. This decision was rendered by an unanimous vote of the Senate. It follows, therefore, that no other act of rebellion is needed. It does not require, for instance, that Andrew Johnson shall actually march troops into the Halls of Congress, and shoot down the members, or disperse them by the bayonet, to render him liable to impeachment; it does not require that he shall actually issue orders forbidding the execution of the laws, it is sufficient that he, as President of the United States, sworn to preserve and protect the Constitution and see that the laws are executed, shall, in some public manner declare his purpose thus to act, and urge and incite the people to aid and assist him in these or any other act for the destruction of the government or any of its departments.

The precedent which was not adopted hastily or in passion, is one resulting from proceedings instituted at the suggestion of Andrew Johnson. Judge Humphreys was amenable to no law, but that to which the President and all other civil officers are amenable. The same Constitution protected him that covers Andrew Johnson. The House that was competent to impeach him is as competent to impeach the President, or any other officer. The Senate that was competent to try and convict him, is as competent to try and convict any other civil officer. There is no escaping the precedent of this Humphreys' case, for which the country is indebted to Andrew Johnson.

The plea of Johnson's followers is that speeches, no matter how revolutionary and rebellious they may be, cannot furnish legal ground for impeachment. But the Senate, upon a case forced upon them by Andrew Johnson, by a unanimous vote decided that such a speech by an officer of the government sworn to the support and execution of the laws, was sufficient to warrant impeachment, and to warrant, upon proof, the conviction and deposition of the guilty official.

The Constitution it is true confines impeachment to "treason, bribery and other high crimes and misdemeanors," but there is a vast difference between the criminality of the act by one holding an office under the United States, and a private citizen. Drunkenness while in the discharge of official duties has been adjudged a sufficiently "high crime or misdemeanor" to warrant impeachment. A revolutionary speech by a President, or other person in authority, in disregard of his official oath, is, we have seen, sufficient to warrant not only the impeachment, but the conviction and deposition of the accused. A treasonable speech by the President, or a Cabinet officer, or Federal Judge, while it would not warrant a conviction for treason before a court and jury, warrants an impeachment, and, upon conviction, a removal from office. An impeachment, in point of fact, raises only the question whether such a person is fit to hold office. The numerous precedents furnish a variety of causes justifying impeachment, but we have preferred to cite this case because it is the most recent, and all the circumstances surrounding it make it a precedent covering the case of Andrew Johnson, and because it is one procured by his own agency, and the authority of which he is estopped from denying.

MOSES—A PARALLEL.

THE radical Unionists in the Western States are enjoying a parallel ran by some wit on the prairies between our Johnson "Moses" and the Moses of Scripture, to the effect that

Moses led his people through the sea; Johnson led his into it.

Moses asked Pharaoh to let the people go; Johnson was asked by Congress to let the people go, but wouldn't.

Moses cast down and broke the tables of the law; so has Johnson.

Moses erected a serpent in the wilderness and the people lived; Johnson erected a serpent in New Orleans and the people died.

Moses slew an Egyptian; Johnson "slews" himself.

Moses had Aaron for a spokesman; Johnson has his spokesman. Aaron made and showed a calf; Johnson's man made and showed a menagerie.

Moses ate quails in the wilderness; Johnson entertained "quails" at the White House.

Moses sang a song of triumph; Johnson sings on the other side of his mouth.

Moses was angry with the people; so is Johnson.

In Moses's time there were plagues by reason of hanging on to slavery and maintaining the slave power; so there are in Johnson's.

Moses esteemed reproach greater than the riches of Egypt, for he had respect unto the recompense of the reward; Johnson esteems his "policy" far above reproach, and had respect unto the recompense of the pardon-brokers.

Moses was the meekest man; Johnson is the umblest individual.

Moses sent spies to spy out the land, and they brought back an evil report; so did Johnson, and they brought back increased Radical majorities.

Moses didn't bring his people into the promised land; so didn't Johnson.

THE NEXT PRESIDENCY—THE PARTIES AND THEIR CANDIDATES.

From the N. Y. Herald.

THE really vital political question for all parties lies beneath the discussion and turmoil of the hour—it is who is to be the next President. Politicians rage on every topic and assail one another each after his own peculiar frenzy; State canvasses are carried on and fought out apparently on local issues, but underneath all—shaping, directing and controlling all—lies the paramount question of the Presidency. All the astonishing vagaries and extravagances into which the politicians are running—all the unexplained pieces of vindictiveness at this or that public man—have reference to this topic and express only the hopes or fears of one or another faction in regard to some candidate. The Presidency is now the clue that runs through the labyrinthine mazes of political intrigue, though this fact will not be fully developed before the next session of Congress.

The struggle for the Presidency will be a triangular fight between three great factions. The Democrats will have their candidate, and the Republicans, divided into radicals and conservatives, will have a candidate for each division. Mr. Chase, who has never relinquished his hopes for the crowning glory of a political career, will develop the greatest strength as a candidate with the Radicals—more especially in virtue of arrangements in the national banks, which were created by him for this very purpose. It is hardly possible to estimate exactly how much old timber Mr. Chase has lying over in different directions beside his strength in the banks, for probably very many of his arrangements made in the departments when he was in power are still intact. The only question as to a Radical candidate lies between Chase and Butler; but Butler will undoubtedly make way for the stronger and bolder man, with that accommodating disposition that has marked his conduct on so many memorable occasions. He will agree to take a place in the Cabinet. To be contented with a little honor is his most admirable characteristic.

Grant will be the candidate of the conservative masses of the Republican party—the soldiers, sailors and patriots of all sorts—the whole body of the people that carried on the war and put down the rebellion, and that equally detest the extremists of every stripe. He is already recognized in all quarters as the inevitable man. Hence, even before the politicians judge it advisable to let the people know the direction of the currents, leave has been given to all the small dogs to snarl at the great standard bearer. Tray, Blanche and Sweetheart have taken up the cry with all their pretty little fierceness, and it will go hard if somebody is not frightened at it. This is the explanation of the latest diatribe against the hero. But that sort of tactics is likely to recoil on its inventors; for as Mr. Wendell Phillips has abused and stigmatized in turn every man that has possessed the love and admiration of the American people, from George Washington to Abraham Lincoln, the people will naturally look for his abuse as the gauge of a man's goodness and greatness, and would certainly suppose that a candidate was not worthy of honor—was without moderation or any respect for the laws—if that wonderful scolder had not called him a scoundrel. This early radical skirmish fire shows how clearly the Radicals perceive the position of their most formidable opponent. It shows how clearly they see that the popular instinct inclines to deposit the executive power where they can the least manage or control it.

The Democrats have their candidate at pasturage in the rarified atmosphere of the mountain lands of Europe. Gen. McClellan has been kept far away from political contests since the last Presidential election, and has therefore done his party no harm. He has had abundant time for reflection also, and will come out a fresh, perhaps a strong man. He may have a clearer eye for political combinations than when he was deluded by the Chicago temptation. It is possible that the Democratic nomination may be complicated by the introduction of Gen. Sherman's name. In that event it will be a close dispute between the friends of the two soldiers; for while on a mere question of military glory and the quantity of laurels, Sherman would have everything to McClellan's nothing, yet the Democracy will certainly remember to Sherman's prejudice that he did a great deal toward putting down the rebellion. This will make the claims of the soldiers more nearly even.

Such are the candidates as the divisions now stand. We shall see the struggle between the various factions devoloping itself more openly as soon as Congress assembles.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

MR. WENDELL PHILLIPS dislikes the Republican party. Freedom of opinion affirms his right to indulge his perverted taste in this respect. Mr. Wendell Phillips indulges in long verbal tirades against the Republican party. Freedom of speech affirms his right to immunities from all resistance or disturbance in thus delivering himself. We can't quite go the length of the *Times*, and insist that those Republicans who choose not to pay fifty cents for the privilege of hearing themselves eloquently abused by Mr. Phillips, evince a spirit of bigotry and persecution; but we do most strenuously insist that whoever shall see fit to attend Mr. Phillips's lecture, shall pay the stipulated sum at the door, and keep quiet throughout the delivery aforesaid, save as they may be impelled to the occasional bestowment of judicious and moderate applause. If any one chooses to make a goose of himself by hissing, let him, goose-like, develop that phase of his nature by the roadside or in a pasture, where he will not disturb the enjoyment of others by his anserine sibilations.

Mr. Phillips has always hated the Republican party. He hated it when it proposed only to resist the extension of slavery, because it did not insist on abolition; and, when, in the fullness of time, it *did* insist on abolition, he hated it by so much the more. When Mr. Lincoln was first a candidate for President, Mr. Phillips denounced him as "the slave-hound of Illinois;" and when Mr. Lincoln had dealt slavery its death-blow by his proclamation of freedom, Mr. Phillips denounced him in still harsher terms and opposed his re-election. Mr. Phillips's mischievous vaunt that he had "watered" the good, great President, did not preclude his trying to deprive him of public confidence and votes. Had barely one hundred thousand Abolitionists seen fit to be guided by the Boston orator, McClellan would have been elected, and the downfall of American slavery indefinitely postponed.

Mr. Phillips is to lecture this evening in our city. His theme, as first announced, was "The Treachery of the Republican Party." He has since changed this to "Reject the Amendment!—Depose the President!" The Republicans are not likely to accept Mr. Phillips as a counselor in such grave matters until he shall have—at least once—voted for its candidates. They may possibly be compelled to impeach the President; but they will do this, if at all, with profound reluctance, and only because it is their imperative duty. We fervently trust that the necessity may be avoided; for an impeachment of the President—no matter how just and necessary—will almost certainly plunge the country afresh into convulsion and civil war, just when its need of peace and thrift is most urgent. If the Republican party shall ever be driven to such impeachment, it will follow therein the counsel of no enemy so persistent and implacable as Wendell Phillips.

As to the pending Constitutional Amendment, we hope to see it supplanted by a fraternization of the North and the South on the comprehensive platform of Universal Amnesty, Impartial Suffrage. This is infinitely better for both sections than the provisions of the Amendment. The South does not want to proscribe her foremost men; she wants to return to Congress with the full representation to which her number (all free) entitle her. Only blind, unreasoning prejudice could induce her to prefer the pending Amendment to Universal Amnesty with Impartial Suffrage; and the South is not now in a condition to sacrifice her interest to a besotted prejudice against two-fifths of her own people, which has no longer any rational basis. The South has already too long been frightened from her clear interest by the ghost of a dead blunder.

We deprecate Mr. Phillips's polished invective against everybody and everything, only as calculated to inflame the lingering prejudice, North and South, against impartial suffrage, and thus postpone a final, all-embracing settlement of our remaining differences. Men hate to be bullied into doing right; they would much rather do it *without* a cocked pistol at their heads. It may be weak, but it is very human, to rebel against that sort of persuasion. The pig, which Matthews's Paddy was getting along toward Cork under the mistaken impression that he was wanted to go to Fermoy, might give Mr. Phillips a valuable hint, if he were not above learning from aught in heaven above or earth beneath but himself.

Mr. Phillips's excellence as an orator is a source of self-delusion. Thousands rush to hear him, and are temporarily spell-bound by his eloquence; they applaud his glowing rhetoric and well-turned periods; but they go away to take counsel of their sober common sense, and to obey its dictates instead of knocking their heads against all the immovable stone walls they can discover. He says many things admirably; but, if the anti-slavery movement had, for the last twenty years, been under his guidance, Slidell or Howell Cobb would now be President of the United States, and Toombs legally authorized to call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill.

THE RADICALS AND GEN. GRANT.

From the N. Y. Daily News.

THE *Tribune* mildly protests against the attack made on Gens. Grant and Sherman by Wendell Phillips in the Radical harangue delivered by the apostle of progressive republicanism on last Thursday evening at the Cooper Institute. The difference between Phillips and the *Tribune* is merely one of relative boldness and truth. Wendell Phillips is the pioneer of the party of "moral ideas," and is successfully engaged in educating the mass of the Republicans up to his platform. Inasmuch as Gens. Grant and Sherman seem inclined to obey the laws, and as those laws are destructive of the safety of Radicalism, it is not strange that we should find Phillips lamenting the fact that Grant is General of the United States Army, and that Butler is not invested with his powers.

The question of the impeachment and deposition of the President is the first thing in order with the extreme Radicals at present. But as Grant and Sherman, according to Phillips, are equally as guilty as the President, it follows that they, too, should be called to account and broken of their rank. That this possibility will be broached at an early day seems more than probable. The enemies of law and order evidently fear the two chief commanders of the army, who have given every evidence of being *en rapport* with the President and faithful to their oaths.

The fact that Wendell Phillips is not alone in his estimate of Gen. Grant is shown by the applause which greeted his savage attacks on that officer. The lesson to be deduced from this testimony of satisfaction at his words is simply that Radicalism holds the former services of Grant and Sherman as nothing, compared to their present position as supporters of the President. So far as it has had an opportunity of showing its quality, the Radical creed has been that whoever opposes it is "disloyal" and a "traitor." It has so judged President Johnson, and this is the accusation that it is harboring against the two most prominent officers of the army.

With a creature of Congress in the Presidential chair, and Ben. Butler in command of the United States troops, the full Radical dream of unlimited power and proscription would be realized. Wendell Phillips and Butler are now going about the country with this purpose in view. The ovations which the Radicals have given to the latter, and

leave the vast power of the army and navy in the hands of men hostile to their designs.

It is in view of the probable ultimate ostracism of Gens. Grant and Sherman by the Radicals that the *Tribune*, doubtless, damns the former with a faint rebuke to Phillips's partisanship. The *Tribune* is cautious not to get out of sight of the land, and hence its elevation of eyes and hands at Phillips's proposition. But some day when the *Tribune* has been properly educated by the course of events, it will be found to shout, "down with him! crucify! crucify!"

WENDELL PHILLIPS AND THE RADICALS.

From the N. Y. World.

When the old tricks succeed as of old, why should the deceivers of the people learn new ones? The Radicals are terrified by the outspoken vehemence of their real leader, Wendell Phillips, to-day, as they have been twenty times before; and to-day again, as twenty times before, they raise their hullabaloo of verbal revolt against him, that the people may not see whither they are going. But to-morrow, when the elections are over, they will crouch down under the Massachusetts whip as meekly as they have so often done before, and the programme which they exclaim against now, as the madness of one man, will be hailed as the patriotism of a party.

"Wendell Phillips," whines the *Tribune*, "dislikes the Republican party." The *Tribune* inverts its sentence. Wendell Phillips does not dislike the Republican party, for it is his creature; but the Republican party dislikes Wendell Phillips, for he is its master. The bummers who, at each step in the onward progress of the Radicals towards revolution and anarchy, desire to stop and gather spoil by the way, are exasperated by the bugle which summons them up and urges them onward. What moves the protests of the *Times* and the *Tribune* against the positions of Wendell Phillips to-day? Is it his assertion that Andrew Johnson, the man by reason of whom the Radicals, two years ago, thanked God for the death of Abraham Lincoln, is a "traitor and a rebel"? Is it his insolent and senseless declaration that the "rebellion is now quartered in the White House?" Not so; for the columns of the *Tribune* have teemed with precisely these charges against the President for long months past. Is it his shameless proclamation that the war must go on, though the Union be restored, till "Massachusetts can remodel Louisiana?" Not so; for the Radicals have long since shouted themselves hoarse for a military domination over the South, and for the denial to "rebels" of all rights whatever in the management of their own affairs. No! The Radicals are frightened at their leader to-day, because he unmasks too soon the full scope of their aims; because he openly demands that overthrow of our constitutional system and that deposition of the Executive for which they have been preparing in their secret conclaves, but which they dare not yet confront the people at the polls. They clap their hands to their ears in terror, and set up their deafening shouts at Wendell Phillips to-day, because he outruns them by a few weeks or months in denouncing Gen. Grant as occupying "the most humiliating position on this continent;" in openly insulting both Grant and Sherman, the great leaders of our armies, in their crowning victories, as "intentional traitors;" and in calling for "our Ben Butler" to replace Gen. Grant "in the command of the United States forces!" And they suppose the people to be such dupes that these outcries will be believed, at least long enough for the Radicals to secure a fresh lease of power, after which, what should we see but that which we have so often already seen? Two years ago, these Radicals of the *Tribune* would have raised just such outcries at the denunciation of Andrew Johnson as they now raise at the denunciation of Ulysses S. Grant. "Two years," do we say? Wendell Phillips has whipped up his host more quickly than that. Hear his own words in the Cooper Institute: "On the 25th October, 1865, standing on this platform, I ventured to say that the President of the United States, instead of being a mistaken friend, was a determined enemy to the Republic, an obstacle to be removed. About one-tenth of you accepted my statement, nine-tenths received it with hisses and silent indignation. I think the number that dissented from me then would agree with me to-day!" So fast have Wendell Phillips and "our Ben Butler" done their work! The elections over, let Gen. Grant do his duty as a soldier and a patriot in the case of such an insurrection, for example, as Forney and his accomplices are now trying to raise in Maryland, and we shall hear the whole Radical pack in full cry with their master upon his heels. Step by step, through all these years of trial, we have bidden the people keep their eyes fixed, not upon the Greeleys and the Raymonds, but upon the Phillipses and the Stevenses, if they would see whither the Radicals were leading them. It is the head which leads, the head that thinks and wills, not the legs that only trot, nor the hands that only pick and steal. People of New York! honest and true men of the Union, mark these words and lay them to heart: Every vote given for the Republican candidates at the elections of this Fall is a vote given for anarchy and revolution; it is a vote given for the deposition of the Executive, for the defamation of the loyal and true men who, like Grant and Sherman and Farragut, stand by order and by the laws, for the exaltation of the Phillipses to be the head, and of the Ben Butlers to be the right arm of this nation. This is the issue—this and no other. Look it in the face and meet it like men!

From the N. Y. Daily News.

The majority of the people who assembled on Thursday evening at the Cooper Institute to listen to the speech of Wendell Phillips gave signs of their disapproval of many of the sentiments that he uttered. Still the majority of that audience were Black Republicans, and the elegant speaker doubtless felt himself at home and among friends. So long as he confined himself within the limits traced by the expediency of his party, he was greeted with earnest and enthusiastic applause. It was only when he ventured upon extremes beyond the acknowledged extremes of the Radical leaders in Congress that he was assailed with tokens of disapprobation.

There is, in fact, very little difference in sentiment between Mr. Phillips and his fellow-Radicals. They all desire to bring about the same results; but none of them have his courage, bold as they are, to publicly proclaim their intentions. The trouble is, that Mr. Phillips lets out the secrets of his faction. He is too plain-spoken for their purpose. He is premature in the publication of their programme. It is not his theory that alarms them, but the frankness with which he confesses it. They censure him not for entertaining principles in conflict with Radicalism, but for indiscretion in bringing those principles so soon before the public.

There is no doubt that the Radicals are plotting to impeach the President, and during his trial to depose him and take the executive power into their own hands. There is no doubt that, after securing the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment by the Southern States, they intend to keep the South still out of the Union, exacting other conditions as the price of their admission to representation. There is no doubt that it is their deliberate plan to obtain at any cost, the elective franchise for the negro, and that until that object shall have been consummated they will withhold their consent to the political rehabilitation of the South. The substance of Mr. Phillips's remarks is an emphatic declaration that this policy ought to be carried out. He wears no mask, but meets the issue barefaced, being neither ashamed to acknowledge his creed nor afraid to support it in the open field of disputation.

This outspoken fanaticism is far less dangerous than the calculating and intriguing spirit of more cautious demagogues. In truth, the country is indebted to Wendell Phillips for the warning he has given. When the masses hear this plain talk about deposing the President, they will realize more fully the mischief that is brewing, and prepare themselves for the emergency.

TRIAL OF GOVERNOR EYRE.

From the Chicago Tribune.

The latest dispatches from Europe inform us that the Jamaica Committee have retained the services of Mr. Coleridge, Queen's Counsel, for the prosecution of Gov. Eyre, and have appealed to the public for subscriptions to the amount of ten thousand pounds sterling. On the other hand, as we have already noted, an "Eyre Defence Fund" has been organized, and Thomas Carlyle has written a letter in its behalf. This trial promises to be one of the most interesting that has occurred in England since the famous impeachment of Warren Hastings, in which the talents of Fox, Burke and Sheridan were enlisted against the prisoner. Cruelty against the natives was the heavy accusation against Hastings, and in this respect, at least, there will be a parallel in the two trials. The division of sentiment in England on the subject of Gov. Eyre's career in Jamaica, marks, almost exactly, the division of parties in that country. Against him are the Liberals, the men who are laboring to give the people more weight in the government, by diffusing intelligence among them, by extending the franchise, and by bettering their moral and social condition. On his side are the opposite of these—the men who have no faith in the people—the British aristocracy, who believe in the government of a class, and look upon reform as a monstrous innovation and sacrilege. Nothing was more natural than that Carlyle should make haste to array himself on the side of Eyre. He worships power, and looks upon absolute despotism as the highest type of the divine attributes. For the people, as a political power, he has only contempt; and the butchery of all the natives of Jamaica would disturb him less than the fact that a British Governor could be called to account, under any circumstances, for the manner in which he has exercised his authority. Not only does the Eyre question accurately mark the political divisions of Europe, but in less degree the same thing is true in this country. Every rebel paper in the South that has discussed it has taken up the cudgel in favor of the ex-Governor of Jamaica. To say that he had not the right to kill off as many of the natives as he pleased, in his own way, would be to admit that the white man has not the divine right to do as he pleases with the "nigger," and that the black man *has* rights which the white man is bound to respect. The Governor's trial will be watched in this country with almost as much interest as it will be in England.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1866.

ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the city of Philadelphia, in the Hall of the Franklin Institute, No. 15 South-Seventh st., on Thursday and Friday, November 22d and 23d. The Executive Committee cordially invite their coadjutors in other States, and all true friends of freedom, to attend and participate in the deliberations of the meeting. The subjects which will chiefly occupy the consideration of the Society are so entirely national in their character and of such vital importance, that the Meeting, though the Anniversary of a Pennsylvania Society, will be an occasion of interest to all true patriots both North and South.

The imminent dangers which beset the cause of universal freedom in our land, on one hand from the unrepentant and defiant rebels and their supple tool in the Presidential chair, and on the other hand, by the compromising policy of the best political party in the nation, warn the friends of the colored man to be vigilant, lest, in this momentous crisis, his rights, his real freedom, be again sacrificed, as they have so often been, in an attempt to secure a false peace and an artificial Union.

The Committee ask a full attendance of the members of the Society; urging them not to neglect this annual opportunity for consultation respecting the work which awaits the active hands and zealous hearts of Pennsylvania Abolitionists.

Among our friends from other States who will be present, and participate in the discussions of the Meeting, will be Wendell Phillips, Rev. O. B. Frothingham and Aaron M. Powell, Editor of The Standard.

James Mott, Pres.

Benjamin C. Bacon, Sec.

USURPATION.

The Maryland Constitution confines the franchise to loyal white men. While the Federal Administration was friendly to the Union men of the State the Constitution was so amended as to disfranchise all who had taken part in, or encouraged the rebellion. Disappointed in not being able to take their State into the Confederate alliance, many secessionists left Maryland and united their fortunes with their brethren of other States. The Confederacy collapsed, and secession, for the present, at least, was abandoned. These men, who would have taken the State organization into the service of the rebellion, if they had been able to do so, have returned, and are restive under their proscription. For a time they were crest-fallen and comparatively quiet. But the defection of President Johnson has awakened in them new hopes and new aspirations. They have discovered in him a bold and unscrupulous tool. What secession failed to accomplish for them, they now hope to achieve through usurpation. The details of Gov. Swann's infamous scheme are doubtless already familiar to our readers. The obnoxious Commissioners, who stood between his rebel retainers and the ballot-box, were subjected to a mock trial, and with indecent haste he would have deprived them of official power. Thanks to the foresight and manly courage of Judge Bond, sustained by the loyal people of the city and State, the usurpers of Washington and Annapolis were for a time checkmated. Swann, like Johnson, was elected by the votes of Union men, and each has deliberately betrayed those by whom he was entrusted with power. Swann is the rebel leader in Maryland as is Johnson for all rebels and traitors North and South.

The trouble in Maryland is but one more, and the latest, development of the plot of usurpation. We think it is time for the loyal masses to comprehend fully the danger of the situation. Evidence is not wanting that in Missouri and Louisiana the same attempt has been made, with Presidential encouragement, to dispossess loyal men and to reinstate rebels in power. Congress, "hanging on the verge," has been warned and threatened. The worst enemies of Liberty and Union are being installed in Federal offices of trust and responsibility both South and North. The rebel leaders South, including such men as Wade Hampton and Alexander H. Stephens, are growing more and more positive and defiant in expression, with the conscious possession, through the treachery of Andrew Johnson, of the machinery of the Federal government. We are glad to notice that this last development in Maryland has awakened serious apprehension as to the inevitable tendency of the presidential usurpation among the more respectable of the infatuated supporters of "my policy," such as the conductors of the N. Y. *Evening Post*. We quote from the *Post's* article on "The Maryland Troubles" of Monday last:

"We read this morning, again, that Gov. Swann spent yesterday in Washington in consultation with the President. Does this Governor imagine himself a mere Federal agent, and the State of Maryland a province, to be ruled by the President, and according to his wishes?

"It seems to us a pitiful and also a dangerous spectacle to see the Governor of a State thus dancing attendance on the Federal Executive, and in a difficulty not seeking the advice and cooperation of wise and public-spirited citizens in his own State, but running to Washington to beg for 'United States regulars.'

"We are amazed that Mr. Johnson, who assumes to have very precise and correct notions of the proper duties of the Federal government, entertains Swann and countenances his dangerous and abject course. The President ought to send the Governor back to his State, and tell him to manage his own local affairs, in the best way he can. There is no insurrection in Maryland; there need not be any—for the courts are open, and the men who oppose the Governor's course do not propose to take up arms, or to commit violence; they will respect the decisions of the courts. This everybody knows.

"This talk about soldiers, and force, in a free State, at peace, and when no violence or armed resistance is going on, or even probable, is dangerous and disgraceful. The President would commit a fatal blunder, if not a heinous crime, if he should interfere in Maryland, as Swann evidently would like him to. The Federal government has no duty in the premises; even if there should be an insurrection, the Governor ought to use the State militia first; if that does not suffice, there is time enough to call on the Federal army for help.

"We do not believe Mr. Johnson intends to act unconstitutionally; but the countenance he has given the Governor, and the position he has permitted Swann to put him in, is scarcely such as we like to see the President assume. The evils of an act of unconstitutional interference like that in New Orleans may be seen in the readiness with which the Governor of another State abjectly seeks to put himself in the position of an agent of the Federal Executive, and instead of zealously opposing Federal interference in local affairs, hastens to invite it, to beseech it, and scheme for it. If we go on at this rate, it will not be long before every ward political squabble will be settled by a file of United States regulars, and the State elections will be carried on under the supervision of the President, as the elections in France are managed by Napoleon."

In this connection what shall we say of Gen. Grant, whose unconcern at the troubles in New Orleans was remarkable, and who consented not less remarkably to go to Baltimore. He went not to unqualifiedly support the loyal Commissioners in the discharge of their constitutional duties, but to propose as a compromise illegal tampering with the election?

So far as the constitutionally disfranchised Maryland rebels were concerned, there was in the nature of things no opportunity left for compromise. There was nothing for them to do but to submit. Concession on the part of the loyal Commissioners, as was proposed, would have been disgraceful surrender to traitors. The proposition was, in effect, an invitation from Gen. Grant to the rebels of Baltimore to disregard the constitutional disability which loyalty had imposed upon them. The only counsel he had any right to offer them was unqualified submission. Unrepentant rebels were not competent parties to negotiate a compromise. Gen. Grant by his ill-judged, dishonorable diplomacy is largely responsible for the overwhelming rebel vote and the wholesale perjury in Baltimore yesterday.

We have instanced flagrant usurpation where chiefly loyal whites were immediately concerned. A more serious charge against Andrew Johnson and his abettors is that they have usurped the rights of the entire colored race at the South, leaving millions of men and women forlorn and helpless without the pale of citizenship. To this monstrous usurpation, a continuation of the essential sin of slavery, beginning with what was termed Reconstruction in North Carolina, the North, too, has assented. We are glad that it is rapidly becoming still more apparent that the interests of all men, without respect to complexion, are identical, and that usurpation of the rights of one portion is impossible without endangering the security of all.

The question of jurisdiction as between the President and Congress, has been before the people in the important canvass just closed, enough is now known of the result of the elections to determine the fact that the people are on the side of Congress as against the usurper. This makes it the paramount duty of Congress to cut short the treasonable plot of usurpation without further delay. This is to be done by promptly impeaching its leader, the besotted Executive who dishonors and imperils the nation each day he continues an incumbent of the presidential chair. We shall hold Congress to be derelict in duty, and wanting in self-respect if Andrew Johnson is allowed to send another message, as President, to that body. For the safety and honor of the nation let his impeachment and prompt suspension from office be its first business on reassembling.

THE PENNSYLVANIA ANNUAL MEETING.

Let every true friend of the colored man's freedom and rights remember the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. The Abolitionists of Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware should be strongly represented there. Considerations of personal convenience should yield to the urgent cry from the oppressed Southern negro to his long-proved friends, to rally for his rescue in this hour of his mortal peril. More than his mortal life—liberty, the soul's life, is at stake; and a few months may decide his, and the nation's, fate for years to come. The Southern rebels and their Northern allies openly avow their determination to sacrifice him utterly in their struggle for the control of our government; and the Republican party stands hesitating to-day; one section asking how much justice it can safely give him, and the other, how much it can safely withhold. His old friends, the Abolitionists, trained by long experience to demand absolute justice for all, and to trust *that* only, without regard to imaginary consequences, knowing that the consequences of doing right cannot be evil, are the only organized party in the nation who claim and advocate his full right to *real, practical* and *secure* freedom. Therefore, in such an hour as this, he sorely needs all our help.

While every true Abolitionist rejoices and thanks God for every victory won for freedom; for the constitutional prohibition of slavery; for the Civil Rights bill; for the moral progress of the Republican party; for the fidelity to right, and the earnest labors of some Radical leaders of that party; each deeply feels that the triumph is not perfected, the slave's freedom is not secured; and none can tell in what hour all that has been won for him may be suddenly reclaimed by his mad persecutors and masters, if the vigilance of his friends should fail, and the right of citizenship, whereby he must hold his other rights, should not be conferred upon him. To advocate his claim to this; to urge the claim upon the people, and upon their Representatives in Congress, with all the force which we can command, will be the work of the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Friends of the cause at a distance, whose hearts prompt their personal presence at the meeting, but who are unavoidably detained from it, may help its counsels by letters of sympathy and fraternal greeting.

But on the long-tried members of the Society, who have labored well through evil and good report, proving their faith by their works, the Society may confidently call, for their personal presence and their cheering words and their substantial aid, on this occasion. Faithful, energetic work, now, may accomplish all that remains to be done for the consummation and security of the freedom of the race for whom we have so long and so hopefully toiled. Let it not be said of any of us, "Ye did run well;" what hath hindered your once eager footsteps?

M. G.

The Elections of yesterday (Tuesday), like those of October, sustain Congress as against the President. The returns as announced this (Wednesday) morning, indicate an aggregate Radical gain. Gov. Fenton is re-elected in this State. The usually large "Democratic" vote of this city is swollen by a concentrated liquor interest. The Congressional delegation from this city includes three distinguished representative men, Fernando Wood, John Morrissey, and James Brooks! Mrs. Stanton received eight votes as an independent candidate in the Eighth District. The vote on the Constitutional Convention is in doubt. The Republican majorities in Massachusetts and at the West, are very heavy.

A COLORED MAN FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

Ward Six.—It will be seen by reference to the reports of the political meetings held last evening that Mr. Charles L. Mitchell, a colored citizen, was nominated by the Republicans of Ward Six as a candidate for a seat in the State Legislature. It is one of the practical results of the political creed which Massachusetts has been foremost in advocating, and though it may strike some with surprise, it is certainly creditable to the district which made the nomination. Ward Six is the wealthiest Ward in the State; it embraces within its limits more literary culture and more liberally educated men than any other representative district that we know of, and it is, with perhaps the exception of a Ward in New Bedford, the only Ward in this State which has a larger number of colored voters. The Ward is the home of John A. Andrew, and there seems to be a peculiar propriety that the first colored man elected as a representative—as he undoubtedly will be—should come from a Ward which possess such marked characteristics.

For our own part we heartily endorse the nomination. It shows the sincerity of the Republicans, and is a proof of their intention to carry out to the letter the political professions which they have been making. We believe that the color of the skin is not a badge of dishonor, and when qualified by education to hold the ballot, the man should be eligible to office. The nominee, we hear, is a man of sense and sagacity, and will do no discredit to the State.

Mr. Mitchell was an officer in the Fifty-fourth colored regiment and lost a foot in the service. Before enlisting he had been employed in the printing office of Messrs. Yerrinton, printers of the *Liberator*. He lacked a vote or two of being regularly nominated. But Mr. Stevens, the highest on the list withdrawing his name, Mr. Mitchell's name is placed on the regular ticket. This is a great success and evidence of progress. If he should be elected we may claim a great step achieved.

Another Triumph.—The Republicans of Charlestown, Mass., have nominated for the Legislature Ed. Garrison Walker, Esq., son of David Walker, famous as the author of a pamphlet which, thirty-six years ago, created a great stir at the South. This gentleman, a lawyer in Charlestown, has been long prominent in political meetings and will do credit to himself and his race anywhere. His election is regarded as certain.

We reprint in another column a critical article upon Mr. Phillips from the pen of Mr. Horace Greeley. Published on the day of Mr. Phillips's recent lecture at the Cooper Institute, it was designed, we suppose, to ward off a sort of responsibility for his radical utterances. It is not the first time that Mr. Greeley has written substantially as in this article, only to follow in Mr. Phillips's footsteps a few months later.

An intelligent, clear-sighted correspondent writes us commenting upon the unreasonableness of Mr. Greeley's article, and asks "Did you notice the paragraph in the *Tribune* of yesterday, on Johnson as a leader of the Southern army, etc.,? It says:

"'Andrew Johnson has taken up the lost battle of the South and succeeds Gen. Lee as the leader of the power which was beaten in the field by Sheridan, Grant, Thomas, and Sherman. The rebellion, driven out of the field of battle, has made a masterly retreat into politics, and has its headquarters in the White House.'

"These are almost verbatim the words used by Mr. Phillips in his lecture before the Brooklyn Fraternity last Winter for which he was vigorously hissed. It is a very marked example of the way in which he leads the people, and the *Tribune*."

Gen. Butler, we are happy to announce, will give the opening lecture of the Fraternity Course, in the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, on Saturday evening, November 24. His subject will be "The Usurpations, Wrongs, and Abuses of Executive Power and the Constitutional Remedy Therefor." We are very glad the citizens of Brooklyn and New York are to have this opportunity to hear Gen. Butler under favorable auspices upon this important theme. He was most enthusiastically greeted by an immense gathering at the Academy on Friday evening of last week, but was too unwell to address the meeting at length. The great ability of the speaker, the near approach of the meeting of Congress, and the growing interest in the question of impeachment as a feasible and constitutional means of relieving the country from the danger and the disgrace of a treasonable Executive, will give unusual interest and significance to the lecture. Reserved seat tickets, without extra charge, will be ready at S. Dyas & Co.'s, 246 Fulton st., Brooklyn, in a few days.

It is with great satisfaction that we are able to chronicle the election of Messrs. Mitchell and Walker, two colored nominees, to the Legislature of Massachusetts. It is a triumph of more than local importance. The Republicans of Boston and Charlestown have honored themselves and given the best practical help in their power to the cause of impartial suffrage throughout the Union.

We invite special attention to the article, which we present in another column, from the Chicago *Tribune*, on the subject of Impeachment; also to the synopsis of Gen. Butler's argument upon the same subject, which we take from the Boston *Daily Advertiser*. We especially commend these articles to the notice of such, among our readers, as are members of Congress, and who, as such, will soon be called upon to act in the premises, for the relief and safety of the nation.

We invite the attention of such of our readers as are interested in the cultivation of grapes to an advertisement which appears in another column, announcing for sale a choice stock of vines by Miss J. L. Waring, of Amenia, N. Y. Miss Waring is a lady of more than ordinary intelligence and culture, who, desiring to do something useful, and from a love of the business, has interested herself in fruit and vine raising. She has invested upwards of forty thousand dollars. She cultivates only the choicest varieties, and has several large and well constructed houses for the propagation of foreign and delicate vines. She has a large number of vigorous and thrifty out-of-door growth. Careful in method, and conscientious in selection, the vines she offers for sale may be relied upon as of excellent quality and genuine in variety. It is the largest industrial enterprise of the kind, conducted by a woman, of which we have any knowledge, and we hope that it may be attended with abundant success.

PERSONAL.

Gen. John C. Fremont addressed a meeting of the loyal veterans at the Cooper Institute on Friday evening of last week. His remarks were general in character, but in sympathy with the cause of liberty and equality.

Gov. Humphreys, of Mississippi, has recommended to the Legislature of that State to appoint one or more commissioners to proceed to Washington to solicit the President to release Jeff. Davis on parole or bail.

W. W. Broom, editor of the *Temple of Opinions*, was assaulted, struck, kicked, knocked down, and very badly injured, at the Hoffman Mass Meeting on Thursday evening. His offence was distributing pamphlet copies of "The United States in Account with the Rebellion"—issued by the Union League. The Copperheads could not otherwise answer the pamphlet.

The New York correspondent of the Boston *Commonwealth*, in a notice of Mr. Phillips's recent lecture at the Cooper Institute says: "One loves to note the felicitous illustrations, the smooth, grand prose (as though Bacon, Shakspeare and Macaulay were united and made one in Phillips), the simple, unaffected majesty of appearance, the eyes that drink in all persons, places and incidents, and the tongue that at one moment flails us with a rod of Divine wrath, the next moment fills the assembly with brilliant wit, refined humor, delicate sarcasm, and then proceeds to drop the gentlest words of compassion and admiration for the unfortunate and the true-lived. France had only one Mirabeau and Robespierre; Italy has only one Mazzini and Garibaldi; Ireland had only one Robert Emmet; England had and has only one William J. Fox and John Bright; we have only one Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner. Other men are equally good, consistent, learned and able; but no other too men *are like*, in all particulars, these two men of golden thought and silver speech. Try to surpass them, and you will fail; try to be like them, and you will look ridiculous; try to oppose them, and you will be crushed; try to defame them, and they will bloom on your own inglorious grave. The finest passage in Phillips's lecture for racy wit, pungency, caustic satire, clear insight, poetic fancy, and unalloyed oratorical genius, was his sketch of our present Cabinet. It was a set of perfect photographs placed in the choicest album; placed with the artistic skill of French lightness and American keenness. When Phillips demanded the impeachment, and suspension from office during trial, of the President, the audience applauded till it was physically exhausted. A large portion of the people of this city are ready for any measures that will save our country from internal ruin and external contempt."

The claims of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as an independent candidate for Congress in the Eighth Congressional district, were thus supported by the *Herald* in its issue of Tuesday morning last: "Don't forget, fellow-citizens, that Col. Le Grand B Cannon has not all the field to himself for Congress in opposition to the Hon. James Brooks; but that there is another ticket up for the voters of this district which reads thus:

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS,
ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Don't forget that Mrs. Stanton is the first lady that has presented herself for Congress since the foundation of the government. Let it be remembered, too, that her platform is free men, free women, free speech, equal rights, including not only negro's rights, but woman's rights, and bear in mind, too, that a lady of her fine presence and accomplishments in the House of Representatives would wield a wholesome influence over the rough and disorderly elements of that body. Let every advocate of the Women's Rights platform, anyhow, vote for Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and every man who would prefer to see her elected over Brooks or Cannon."

IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT.

A correspondent of the Boston *Daily Advertiser* has furnished that journal with the following carefully prepared synopsis of Gen. Butler's argument for the impeachment of President Johnson. The correspondent says:

"I heard Gen. Butler deliver his impeachment speeches at Cleveland, Cincinnati and Chicago, and I have also heard him discuss it with many lawyers and politicians in the West. I have taken notes of these arguments and submitted them for correction to Gen. Butler, and am confident, therefore, that I can give you with perfect accuracy all the leading legal points."

GEN. BUTLER'S INDICTMENT.

The right of impeachment was carefully woven into the fabric of the Constitution by its makers. It was put there as a safeguard of popular rights. It is, therefore, not a revolutionary but a constitutional power, and not those who would exercise it but those who oppose it are "the revolutionists." Members of Congress are sworn to uphold the Constitution, and if they believe that the President has violated it they are bound by their oath of office to impeach him. They have no choice. The President has violated the Constitution.

First.—He has endeavored by his public speeches to bring Congress, a coördinate branch of the government, into public hatred, ridicule and contempt, by characterizing it as an illegal and unconstitutional assembly, without power or right, "pretending to be a Congress," a "body hanging upon the verge of the government," a "rump of a congress," a body of disunionists, a domineering, tyrannical and unconstitutional Congress, its legally appointed committee as a central directory, and some of its most distinguished, loyal and patriotic members as traitors and disunionists who are deserving of death at the gibbet.

Second.—He has sought, by the most inflammatory harangues and declamations against the power of Congress, to excite the people to disobey the laws passed by it, and to resist their execution.

Third.—He has used the power of pardoning offences against the United States, vested by the Constitution in the Executive, for corrupt and wicked purposes, and in an indiscriminate, illegal and unconstitutional manner. He has thus released from the just penalties of their acts many notorious criminals, guilty of treason, murder, robbery, theft, and counterfeiting the currency of the United States, and this both before and after trial, without a due investigation of their offences, and in order to prevent fines, forfeitures and confiscations, legally and properly due to the United States, from coming into the national treasury.

Fourth.—He has usurped the legislative power of Congress, by restoring to rebels and traitors to the government large amounts of property amounting in value to many millions of dollars, which by capture of war and otherwise had become vested in the United States and ought to have gone into its treasury. This is in direct derogation of the constitutional power of Congress "to make rules concerning captures on land and water."

Fifth.—He has appointed, without warrant of law and against constitutional right, certain persons as Provisional Governors over portions of the territory of the United States, disorganized by civil war and rebellion, in which, as he himself admitted, "all civil government was overthrown," and has ordered and permitted the salaries and emoluments of these illegal appointees to be paid from the Treasury of the United States.

Sixth.—He has appointed and caused to be inducted into office many rebels, both pardoned and unpardoned, who, as he knew at the time, were unable to take the oath prescribed by law that they had not been guilty of treason. Without warrant of law he has caused their salaries to be paid from the treasury of the United States.

Seventh.—He has usurped the legislative powers constitutionally devolved on Congress, in prescribing, by executive order, the terms and conditions upon which former citizens who, by levying war and other crimes against the national authority, had forfeited all their rights and lost all power, both as individuals and as organized communities, to participate in the government of the United States, and to be represented in Congress, might again be organized into States of the Union, to frame constitutions and do other legislative acts and, finally, become clothed with the power and rights of citizens entitled to representation in the National Senate and House of Representatives.

Eighth.—He has usurped the power of Congress in his proclamation of peace. A public territorial war was declared to exist by Congress and the President between the United States and the armed forces of the insurrectionary States. The Constitution vests in the Senate the right to advise and consent to any treaty of peace, and in the House of Representatives the power to provide for the general welfare. By his sole proclamation, in defiance of these provisions, the President declared the war to be ended and peace to be restored in order to relieve these insurgents from the disabilities and obligations consequent upon a state of war.

Ninth.—While declaring the legal and constitutional existence and right of the State of Louisiana, he interfered in its domestic concerns, and ordered the Federal army to protect it from insurrection, without the application of the Executive and Legislature.

Tenth.—Conspiring with certain evil disposed persons, lately rebels, the chief of whom, John T. Monroe, he pardoned in order to enable him to hold office, the President aided and abetted them in the murder of loyal and well-disposed citizens of New Orleans; and to hide from the people his complicity in this great crime, he garbled and caused to be published the dispatches of the General commanding there, and afterwards wickedly charged the violence and massacre he had incited on the Congress of the United States.

Eleventh.—He has corruptly and wickedly abused the power of appointment, and removed from office, for the purpose of interfering with the freedom of election, by making the sole qualification for obtaining and retaining place the opposition of the candidate or incumbent to the constitutional laws, acts, and power of Congress.

Twelfth.—He has usurped from the Senate the constitutional right of advising and consenting to the appointment of officers of the United States not provided for by the Constitution; by nominating to that body many persons whom, after the Senate had refused to advise and consent to their appointment, he has put in office and clothed with its powers and duties; and he has caused their salaries to be paid without right and without law, and furthermore shown his contempt and wicked intention and design by appointing and inducting in office many such men, who had been rejected by the Senate more than once.

Thirteenth.—He has violated his oath of office "to take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed," by neglecting and refusing to enforce such laws, although duly and legally enacted by Congress, as were distasteful to him by being passed over his veto or in opposition to his wishes.

In addition to these distinct, easily subtantiated and clearly official crimes, the personal habits of the President—his drunkenness, for example, and alleged immoral traffic in pardons—are, when established by proper evidence, impeachable offences. Precedents are found to support the argument that for drunkenness alone the President could be constitutionally removed. Again, his use of the army during the Fenian excitement was an unconstitutional use of power. Their offence under the law was a misdemeanor only. They should have been looked after by civil officers only; if these officers had been resisted, then it was the duty of the President to call out the army, but not till then. The case of the privateer which the broad arrow of England arrested at the docks of Liverpool, and the Alabama which was allowed to escape, were entrusted, and properly so, to civil officers only. Neither army nor navy could properly be used until resistance was offered to civil authority. In the case of the Fenians, there was neither disposition nor intention to resist the United States officers of any class. Their utmost anxiety was to get as far from them as possible.

As to the method and incidents of impeachment, Gen. Butler, after showing that the Constitution provides that every step up to the final vote of "guilty" or "not guilty" depends on a majority only, and not on two-thirds, proceeds to argue that the moment the House of Representatives presents a bill of arraignment, the President is temporarily suspended from the duties of his office. The words of the Constitution are that he shall be liable to be removed from office "upon impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes or misdemeanors." The Democratic interpretation now so popular with the partisans of the President, ignores entirely the words "impeachment for" and reads only "on conviction of." The folly of this course is plain when we consider, in the first place, that, as Commander-in-Chief, he might use the army and navy to disperse Congress, which would be an unconstitutional use of his power; and, in the second place, when we reflect that the Constitution provides that the Chief-Justice shall preside over the Senate, when sitting as a high court of impeachment. For, if the Chief-Justice should die during the progress of the trial, it would not only be within the constitutional power of the President, but it would be his clear constitutional duty to appoint a successor,—in other words to nominate his own judge. Is it to be supposed that the founders of the Constitution ever contemplated such an absurdity?

Berwick.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, Nov. 5th, 1866.

We had last night a touch of November weather, nine degrees below the freezing point; but to-day is clear and pleasant, and very favorable to the political work that is now briskly going forward. An event of marked importance in this department is the nomination of a colored citizen for State Representative in Ward Six, which, bounded on one side by Beacon street and the Common, contains some of the finest houses in Boston, and some of the most eminent specimens of its wealth and fashion. This candidate, Mr. Charles L. Mitchell, is by trade a printer, and a workman of unusual skill and accuracy. He was formerly employed in the composing-room of the *Liberator*, a post which he left to enlist in the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts regiment. From private he became sergeant, and his bravery and good conduct secured him not only the high esteem of his officers, but further promotion to the rank of second lieutenant. His military course was interrupted by a severe wound, received at Honey Hill, S. C., from which he recovered only in time to appear on crutches, at the final review of the regiment after the close of the war. If he shall be chosen one of the Representatives of Massachusetts, and I suppose there is no doubt of it, his intelligence and modesty will alike do honor to the station.

Hon. Richard H. Dana has accepted the nomination of his fellow-citizens of Cambridge to be one of their Representatives in the next Legislature.

The better part of our clergy of course do their share in arousing the people to a sense of the importance of actively fulfilling their political duties. Among the demonstrations of this sort was a brilliant lecture last evening by Rev. George H. Hepworth, on "The Moral Significance of the Coming Election." He represented the intelligent and conscientious selection of officers for the government of a Republic as an important religious duty, and spoke of the indications of moral character necessarily brought out by the action of the two great parties into which the country is now divided. He showed that the ideas and purposes of the rebels, continuing as hostile as they were three years ago, are now intrenched, not on the battle-field, but in the White House. The action of the people must decide whether the surrender of rebel arms shall be followed, and completed, by the relinquishment of these hostile ideas and purposes. The President's party was charged with being wholly and absolutely anti-progressive; with encouraging the renewal of civil strife; with apologizing for and defending all the crimes now committed under the sanction of the government; and with being to-day the receptacle of all the unworthy and discreditable elements of our civilization. The other party Mr. Hepworth eulogized as the great religious party of the nineteenth century, distinguished as having faith in human virtue, as legislating truth, and crystallizing righteousness into power. Of the President he said, that he had signed his own death-warrant with an autograph long enough to reach from Washington to Chicago.

I trust it may prove that the Republican party, and its officers now existing and soon to be chosen, may possess and make manifest the zeal for righteousness here imputed to them. The present month and the coming Winter must show.

At present, however, the eyes of the whole country are turned towards Baltimore, and the struggle there in progress between loyalty and rebellion. There, as in the greater field of national action, the doubtful beam sways alternately from side to side; yet, in the main, up to this time, things seem to have gone well, the rightful civil authority still holding power, yet not only affording no pretext for the intrusion of military force, but making such efficient preservation of public order as to dispose effectually of Gov. Swann's impudent charge that they were "thoroughly demoralized." Their precautions kept the city wonderfully quiet, considering the intense agitation of the public mind. Indeed, since they understand the necessity of closing the grog-shops, as one means towards the preservation of public order, it would be well if the authorities of your city and of all other cities would take pattern from them.

It is very possible, however, that before this gets printed, things in Baltimore may have taken another turn, and the unscrupulous Executives of Maryland and the nation may have carried their point there by a forcible overbearing of justice and legitimate civil authority. If it shall prove so, let no one give way to despondency. The general gain will exceed the local loss, since every new exercise of unauthorized power will help to arouse the nation to make adequate provision for our necessities, present and future; and if the President shall take such part in this contest as to add a new item to that list of sufficient grounds for impeachment which Gen. Butler has made out against him, this very act may prove the best insurance of the Republic against ultimate injury.

While we are in the dust and smoke of this crisis of the conflict between loyalty and rebellion, it is exceeding interesting to see the judgment of our situation and its probabilities formed by really intelligent foreigners. The London *Review*, commenting on the situation a

America, is satisfied that the result of the elections now going on in the United States will be adverse to President Johnson and his policy; and that for this result he has in great part to blame himself, since his speeches, and indeed his whole bearing and conduct during his recent progress through the States, were an outrage upon political decency, and a direct defiance to public opinion in the North. The political destinies of the North, this writer thinks, are in the hands of Western agriculturists rather than of Eastern traders; and these, often of foreign birth, and considering themselves citizens of the United States rather than of any political State, will take good care that their victory over the slaveholding aristocracy of the South shall be complete and final. He says that the design of impeaching the President seems to be seriously entertained, and that some plausible grounds have been found for it. On the whole, he comes to the conclusion that, in American phraseology, Andrew Johnson is "played out," and that nothing remains for him and his Southern clients but to "cave in" on the best terms they can get from the mercy or generosity of antagonists who have a fixed and well-defined policy, and are wanting neither in the power nor the resolution to carry it out.

On the same subject the *Spectator* says that the great project for removing the President, which it regards as the inevitable alternative to his submission, is rapidly acquiring form; that the extreme Liberals have been ready for it ever since Mr. Johnson vetoed the Freedmen's bill, and that the nation has now begun to perceive that the removal of a single officer, however highly placed, is a less evil than the continuance of political anarchy, of the old-world form of conflict between the individual and the country.

In this country, the spite with which Gen. Butler's specifications in regard to impeachment are commented on by the opposition press shows a feeling of real alarm at the prospect. As people get familiarized with this idea, it is seen to be feasible, and to offer, by its directness, a solution more promising to the country than the delay of two years and more, in contention against such obstinacy and contumacy as Johnson's would be likely to give. It seems probable, therefore, that something efficient will be done in this direction.

NORTH.

THE PRESS.

SOUTHERN HOSTILITY TO THE AMENDMENT.

THE Springfield *Republican* is growing despondent about the Amendment. It says:

The tone of the Southern press has changed for the worse very rapidly during the past three months. If this indicated only the feeling of the politicians it would be of less account, but it is clear that the Southern people generally are taking on a sullen and desperate temper. They do not threaten fresh rebellion and war; they know that it is impossible; but they look upon the people of the North as implacable and ungenerous, seeking to oppress and humiliate them, and instead of coming forward and co-operating in the restoration of kindly and fraternal relations, as they seemed inclined to do when the war ended, all they now talk about is submitting to oppression until there shall be a reaction in their favor with the North. That all this might have been different if the opportunity had been improved by wise and statesmanlike counsels at the right moment is now evident enough. But regrets are useless. Whoever may be pronounced most at fault by impartial history for the dangers and difficulties of the present situation, the only course is to take facts as they are and attempt to do the best thing in the circumstances that are now inevitable.

The recent message of Gov. Humphrey of Mississippi and the speech of Gen. Wade Hampton of South Carolina are unmistakable and painful indications of the present course of Southern opinion and feeling. The Constitutional Amendment is treated as an insult to the South, contrived of set purpose to degrade the people and to compel them to renounce the rights of national citizenship unless they will punish by exclusion from office all their leading and influential men. The few papers that advocate the adoption of the amendment for the sake of obtaining representation in Congress, do not advocate it as a measure right in itself, but as a disagreeable necessity.

THE AMENDMENT.

The N. Y. *Times* also treats the amendment as a "forlorn hope," and admonishes the wayward Southerners that

In rejecting the Amendment, in refusing any concessions as a means of restoration to power, they are doing precisely what the ultra Radicals of the North desire. They are playing directly and powerfully into their hands. There is no one thing so much dreaded to-day by Wendell Phillips, Sumner, Boutwell, Stevens and the rest of that school, as the acceptance of the Constitutional Amendment by the Southern States—followed, as they know it would be, in spite of their opposition, by the admission of the Southern members into Congress. The South may feel under no obligation to strengthen its friends who are trying to aid it here in the North; but it should at least understand distinctly that the course it is pursuing is strengthening immensely those who seek its utter humiliation as the price of its restoration to political power. The rejection of the amendment by the Southern States will not only exclude them from Congress now, but it will be made a reason for still further exclusions hereafter; it will postpone indefinitely the ascendency of the Democratic party, and will thus defeat the very object it is designed to serve.

The Southern press urges very many and very strong objections to the adoption of the Amendment by the Southern States. We acknowledge and appreciate their force. It is natural and proper that they should object to the concessions which it requires at their hands. But they are not in a condition to dictate terms, and the only question they have to decide is, whether the advantages which its adoption would offer are, or are not, an adequate offset for the sacrifices which it involves. And that is the question which they must determine for themselves.

IF THE AMENDMENT FAILS.

The *Evening Post* also is gloomy at the slim prospect of the adoption of the Amendment, and gives significant warning to its Southern friends. It says:

Thus, with the rejection of the Amendment, we shall enter upon another political struggle, more intense than that through which we are now passing, more injurious to the country, and especially to the Southern States—a contest of which the issue is not doubtful; for the twenty millions of the Northern States will begin to see the unreasonableness of the Southern leaders, and will lose patience with these men, who so stubbornly refuse the mildest terms ever offered to beaten rebels. Hitherto the country has often restrained itself; but we advise no one to push its patience too far. It is not at all impossible, it is not even improbable, if the Amendment should fail through the obstinacy of the Southern leaders, that the laws which are still on the statute-book may be enforced against the politicians who led their States into treason and rebellion.

Hitherto we have given only mercy—but justice is still alive. It seems a monstrous thing to the Southern politicians that some of them should be excinded from office; but, suppose they were to be hanged for their treason, as the law demands, suppose their estates should be taken from them, as the law requires? If they will take our advice they will think of these things. They are not masters of the situation. They have no more power now, nor strength with the country, than they had the day Lee surrendered to Grant; then they would have joyfully accepted the Amendment; it is great folly of them to reject it now. Their attitude, their conduct, their words, their pretentious claims are all irritating to the Northern people, who fought through four years to put down treason, and now see the leading traitors aspiring to the highest offices, and demanding where if they were prudent they would supplicate, and if they were only reasonable they would accept in silence the large and free mercy which is offered them.

If the Southern leaders were wise men, they would say to themselves, "Our best course is to adopt the Amendment, because thus the matter will be settled; we shall at least be secure of life, property and residence in the country. We failed, and we must wait for our offence to be forgotten." They would see that presently their affairs will "blow over," if only they act prudently; but that their present course is only calculated to excite resentment against them. Congress, which would have the power, under the Amendment, would, before many years pass, remit the very light penalty put upon them, and restore them—or all who showed a proper spirit—to all privileges, and they might still hope for a political future.

But they seem little inclined for such wisdom. They are as besotted now as they were in 1860, when they deliberately made war against the Union, and really believed their treason would not be resisted. Their crazy attempt then not only brought ruin upon their own States, but enormous losses and sufferings upon the Northern people. So too, their present course threatens to inflict upon us, as well as upon the Southern States, further injuries. The Southern leaders have a capacity for mischief, that is to say—so much we must grant them; they are able to keep the country in disorder; but whenever the people of the United States come fairly to see this, nothing is so probable as that they will sweep away, with the strong arm of justice, these infatuated hinderers of peace and prosperity, these malignant and stubborn mischief-makers. If the men who led the way in the great treason insist on being hanged or expatriated, they may yet have their will—and that sooner than they think.

WENDELL PHILLIPS AND FORT LAFAYETTE.

The New York *Express* says:

We would not send Phillips to Fort Lafayette for preaching treason and the subversion of the government, last night, and for exciting what is certain to be civil war, by his proposed "sequestration" of the Federal Executive Office,—though he would have sent the Editors of the *Express* there any time, the five years past, for saying half as much against the government and in behalf of rebellion. "Free speech" is generally safer than pent up, smothered speech, and a ventilated man is not half so explosive as a man with the vent on his mouth. Luckily for Phillips, the pet *habeas corpus* suspension of the Radicals does not now exist—President Johnson having taken off the suspension, because, if it did, the President might cage him, and he could not get out of his cage.

The way men change, as the wind changes, only shows men to be about as unstable as the wind, perhaps more unstable, for the wind has certain laws, with which we are very imperfectly acquainted,—and there are no laws on the instability of man. The "government," the Radicals educated us even by violence, was ever to be supported, and "the administration" was once always "the government." To preach against the President was to preach against the government. The encouragement of rebels, or of a rebellion, such as Wendell Phillips is now exciting, and such as many Radicals have just been exciting in Baltimore, was to be suppressed by imprisonment, incarceration, etc., and the prisoner was to stay in prison till the imprisoners choose to let him out. Newspapers that printed such incendiary matter as Phillips's speech, were shut up, or mobbed down. Speakers thinking even thus, out loud, in social circles, were nabbed and caged. Little newsboys were put in Fort Lafayette for selling such papers. Now, Phillips is re-doing all this thing, with impunity, and nobody arrests him, incarcerates him, or advises his imprisonment. The Radicals, if it were done, would make a terrible noise about it. Thus change the times, and thus change men with them!

TWO SPEECHES.

Mr. Phillips and Henry A. Wise are thus contrasted by the *Evening Post:*

Two speeches are printed in the morning journals, both by men notorious for a bitter tongue and a dear love of vituperation. Wendell Phillips and Henry A. Wise are not "moderate men," they are extremists; before the war both declaimed with equal violence against the Union, and now neither of them uses altogether the words of a peacemaker.

Yet we must say that of the two, Mr. Wise's remarks appear to us the most practical and useful. Mr. Phillips breathes only threatening and slaughter; Mr. Wise gives at least some sound advice to his hearers and readers. He told the young men of Virginia that old things had passed away, and that it is now their duty not to sit down in sullen gloom, not to abandon their state or the country, but to labor to make Virginia what she will become—"greater, stronger, grander than was old Virginia." "If you suppose the United States not free," said he, "where else on earth do you expect to find a people as free?" He stated his views of the cause of the slow progress of Virginia, as compared with the other States; slavery created a landed aristocracy, which was antagonistic to progress and repellant to immigration." He spoke at length of the advantages of inviting immigration, now that slavery was destroyed, and alluded to the great mineral resources of Virginia—which will one day, if the State is only blessed with wise and liberal leaders of opinion, make her wealthier and more populous than Pennsylvania.

Mr. Phillips had only abuse for all men but the few reckless impracticables who think with him, and urged a policy which is repugnant to common sense. So far was he carried away by his fury, that he included even Gen. Grant in his denunciations, a man whose patriotism, sound common sense and wise moderation are a model for the whole country, and have endeared him to the hearts of the great mass of his countrymen.

ABUSING THE PRESIDENT.

The *Journal of Commerce* is in distress that Mr. Phillips, *Harper's Weekly*, and the Radicals will persist in abusing the humble President. It says:

One of the leading city papers on Thursday morning contained an editorial paragraph announcing that a well known radical orator would address the public that evening, at Cooper Institute—subject, "Depose the President." It is not so much the fact that the orator recommends such a course, as the other fact that a leading newspaper coolly announces it, without comment, which is worthy of consideration. An illustrated newspaper, boasting a circulation of some hundred thousand copies, has, for two or three weeks past, been devoting its most prominent pages to the work of exciting violent feeling against the President, the latest issue representing him as seated on a throne, with all the insignia of royalty, while Liberty lies in chains at his feet. Several distinguished speakers, of the Republican party, have lately announced their intention to insist on the removal of the President from office by the process of impeachment; while a well known editor, of the same faith, suggests that another method may be found less tardy and more sure. All these things, while they show a diseased and disordered condition of the minds of the editors and orators referred to, certainly indicate a much more healthy state of the public mind than existed a few years ago. It is suggestive to look from our windows, which command a view of the bay, almost or quite to Fort Lafayette, and reflect on what would have been the fate of these ardent enemies of the President if they had treated Mr. Lincoln in 1863, as they treat Mr. Johnson in 1866. Times have certainly changed. The freedom of the press and of discussion has not only been restored, but has been restored with such looseness that it is now abused as never before in our national history. Far be it from us to suguest the propriety of a renewal of those infamous measures which made the Administration of Mr. Lincoln odious to at least one half of the Northern people. But it is due to the character of a conservative press that a strong condemnation should be expressed toward these radical offenders against decency and law. For, without doubt, the proposal to "depose the President," is a criminal act. It is inciting the people to rebellion, if not to assassination. It is disturbing the public peace. It is connected, too, with gross libels and slanders, printed and spoken words which tend to the worst injury toward individuals. The beginning of this style of abuse, this sort of personal vindictiveness against the President, was in the administration of Mr. Pierce. It culminated in the times of Mr. Buchanan. When Mr. Lincoln was President, the party in power put a stop to such practices against him by the sharpest measures. Men were sent to prison for expressing doubts of the patriotism of the President, and others for condemning his policy. The accession to power of Mr. Johnson restored the freedom of speech, but also restored the free speakers to their old opposition standing, and the result is a torrent of abuse poured out on the Chief Magistrate, such as was never before witnessed in this or any country.

PHILLIPS AND BUTLER.

The New York *Times* ineffectually attempts to blunt the edge of Mr. Phillips's criticisms as follows:

We might have supposed that the programme which Wendell Phillips set forth at Cooper Institute on Thursday night was a very serious and frightful thing, if the reporters of the different papers had not, in their peculiar way, informed us that so many of his most frightful propositions were received by the audience with "cheers" and "laughter." This helps us better to comprehend his enunciations than any of his own elucidations of them. As for his propositions themselves, they are enough to terrify not only the South, but the North as well—not only rebels and Democrats, but ordinary Republicans and Radicals—not only Johnson and his Cabinet, but Grant and Sherman as well—in short, everybody but Gen. Butler and those who swear by his name. For Phillips proposes not only the immediate impeachment of the President, or, as he designates him, the "rebel at the White House," but he insists upon his being hurled from office as soon as impeached, and hints significantly at his execution. He not only launches his invective at Gen. Grant, and shows that he is in connivance with treason and murder, but demands his removal from the head of the army—from which, we should judge, he will be made to march directly to the gallows. Being thus rid of the civic head of the government and the commander of the army, Gen. Butler steps upon the stage, with the army under his control and full powers in his hand, with the South under his feet and the Constitution torn to pieces. Well may Phillips exclaim, "The war is not ended;" and he might equally well have proclaimed that it never will be ended, after his programme gets in the way of being carried out. When he gets more particular, however, and tells us that the "fight begins on the 5th day of December, 1866, and from that hour the machine is to be exclusively ours," he brings the day of terror so near to us that we are apt to be divested of the fears which hang around the shadowy and the remote.

Notwithstanding the "laughter" of his audience, however, the mischief which is being hatched by this unprincipled agitator is fraught with danger to the country. His putting forward of Butler as the national headsman shows the passions he would like to see aroused, and from what direction he looks for support. Phillips rarely speaks well of any individual, and never before has taken the stump for any public man. Now he has found his man, and the work to be done he lays down. Butler himself has doubtless been looking over the ground in his travels through the Middle and Western States. To him the matter is a more serious one than to the orator who broaches it; and were he at it, it would appear in a different light to the public than now when they "laugh" at it.

AMERICAN COLORPHOBIA ABROAD.—Rev. W. W. Patton, D.D., writing from Switzerland to the *Independent*, gives the following instance:

"An occurrence at Lausanne, the other day, shows that colorphobia has not ceased to afflict Americans since the war. Some travelers from our country experienced a severe attack, a weak since, on seeing a colored man sitting at the *table d'hote*, at the well-known Gibbon Hotel, in that beautiful city; and they immediately notified the landlord that either they or the colored man must leave. The landlord was weak enough to yield to their bluster, and the colored traveler was compelled to seek another hotel. As no prejudice against color exists in this country, and as Christian people here find it difficult to understand its existence in our land, it may be conceived how the American character suffers by such displays of meanness. I am happy to say that, in some of the largest and most fashionable hotels in Switzerland, I have seen the colored traveler received on a perfect equality with others; though it is true that, out of simple curiosity at an unusual sight, I saw a crowd of the common people following a very black negro along the streets of Geneva."

THE UNITARIAN CONFERENCE ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

AT the late National Conference of the Unitarians held in Syracuse, New York, composed of over four hundred delegates, clerical and lay, representing one hundred and ninety-five church organizations, the following resolutions proposed by Rev. A. P. Putnam, referred to a committee, and reported favorably through its chairman, Rev. S. J. May, were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, By the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches, that we gratefully recognize the goodness of God in that he has in his providence brought to a triumphant conclusion the warfare which our people waged for the maintenance of our Union and the safety of our free institutions, and that he has made the civil contest in which we have been engaged to end in the emancipation of our land from the sin and curse of human slavery.

Resolved, That we deem it to be the solemn duty of all loyal men to see to it that the Union which has been saved by loyal arms and cemented by loyal blood shall be entrusted to the supreme control of those who have proved themselves true to the cause of the government and the interests of freedom; and that we insist that the fruits of our great victory, won by such vast sacrifices and untold suffering, shall not be lost in an evil hour to our country and to the world.

Resolved, That we do most profoundly sympathize with our fellow-countrymen, both white and black, in the South, in all the persecutions and trials to which they are subjected, and that we will give ourselves no rest until black and white alike are secure in the enjoyment of the right of suffrage, and of all the privileges and immunities of free citizens of a free country.

Resolved, That while other denominations of Christians are beginning to feel their obligations to the four millions of liberated slaves in the South, and to do their part to educate and Christianize them, we, too, would be deeply impressed with a sense of our own duty to these poor and long-afflicted classes of our common humanity, and we desire and propose to fulfil our appropriate part of the work of lifting them up to a higher level of civilized life and spiritual progress.

LITERARY.

The *Historical Magazine* for October (Henry B. Dawson, Morrisania, N. Y.) contains Staten Island and the New Jersey Boundary; Map of the World, containing the Discovery of Verrazzano, drawn by Hieronimus De Verrazzano; The Shaw Papers; North American Rock-Writing and other Aboriginal Modes of Recording and Transmitting Thought—concluded by Thomas Ewbank, Vice-President of the Ethnological Society; The Early Methodists and Intemperance; Slavery in Massachusetts; The First Classical School in Western North Carolina, by Professor E. F. Rockwell, of Davidson College; Boston, Old and New—continued.

The Friend for November (Edward S. Bunker, Editor) is an excellent number. It contains "Heroes and Hero Worship," by Rev. John W. Chadwick; "Principles and Peculiarities of the Society of Friends," by Thomas McClintock; "The Religious Government of the Society of Friends," by John J. Merritt; "The Religion of a Free Church," by Rev. Samuel Johnson; well written Editorials, Correspondence, and other interesting matter. The Prospectus for 1867, we are happy to notice, announces that the success of the past year warrants the enlarging of *The Friend*, and that in January next it will appear in an improved dress, as a full octavo of 32 pages. We trust that it will realize, as it will deserve, increased prosperity, and that it may achieve a widely extended sphere of usefulness.

The Friend Association, 131 William street, New York.

The Second Series of the Biglow Papers, by James Russell Lowell has just been published by Ticknor and Fields. It is prefaced by an interesting introduction, wherein the author explains the commendable motives which first prompted him to write this very interesting series. He justifies his choice of the homely Yankee dialect by numerous quotations from very respectable authority, including many celebrated authors. He says: "I should have entirely failed in my design if I have not made it appear that high, and even refined sentiment may coexist with the shrewder and more comic elements of the Yankee character." He has certainly accomplished his main purpose in writing the Biglow papers, by the real service he has rendered to the cause of freedom. No truth can be presented in too many lights, and those who might remain unconvinced by argument, may yet be instructed by successful satire. This book is already popular by the general acceptance given to it when it appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and we doubt not will find many new readers.

A MOSAIC.—A colored poet draws the following comparison between Moses of the past and him of the present:

When Moses broke de c'mandments,
He broke 'em just in stone;
But Moses Johnson broke 'em
All in our flesh and bone,
Wid many a blood drop runnin',
And many a bitter groan.

When moses lift de serpent,
It healed on every hand;
But you've put up the Copperheads
An' dey've pisoned all de land,
An' raised de Southern rattlesnake
To Sting de colored man."

EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

IN view of the proposed Convention for a revision of the State Constitution, the American Equal Rights Association will hold a Convention in TWEEDDLE HALL, ALBANY, on Tuesday and Wednesday, 20th and 21st inst., to consider the question of so amending the Constitution as to secure the right of suffrage to all citizens, without distinction of race or sex.

The spirit of the age impels an onward step. The people, everywhere,—in the Old World and the New—roused from the lethargy of ages, are demanding an extension of rights. The reconstruction of this Union is a broader, deeper work than the restoration of the rebel States. It is the lifting of the entire nation into the practical realization of our Republican Idea.

Let, then, the lovers of freedom from every quarter of the State come up to this Convention at Albany, and add their voice and their influence on the side of justice, to make New York a genuine republic;—a power in the nation, and a light to the world.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Frederick Douglass, Hon. A. J. Colvin, Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, Henry B. Blackwell, Charles Lenox Remond, Frances E. W. Harper, and other advocates of Equal Rights will be present and participate in the discussions of the Convention.

On behalf of the American Equal Rights Association,

LUCRETIA MOTT, Pres't.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Sec'y.

N. B. Friends who cannot be present may aid the good work by cheering letters and liberal contributions addressed to the Secretary, care of Lydia Mott, Albany, New York.

PETERBORO.—Peterboro, in the county of Madison, the residence of Gerrit Smith, has been thoroughly renovated politically. A letter from the place says that there is but a solitary copperhead there. He evidently "hates niggers," and does not read newspapers. One day several of his neighbors were sitting with him in the bar room of the village tavern, when one of them read Petroleum V. Nasby's first letter descriptive of his trip to Chicago as chaplain to the President, starting with an assessment on the department clerks for a clean shirt to adorn the chaplain's person. After the reader had concluded the gushing account of Nasby's sufferings among the Northern loyalists, the lone copperhead growled out, "What in Heaven's name did Andy want to take such a darn'd fool with him for?"—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

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AN Irishman from Battle Creek, Mich., was at Bull Run battle, and was somewhat startled when the head of his companion on his left hand was knocked off by a cannon ball. A few moments after, however, a spent ball broke the fingers of his comrade on the other side. The latter threw down his gun and yelled with pain, when the Irishman rushed up to him, exclaiming, "Blaaht yer sowl, ye ould woman, shtop crying; ye make more noise about it than the man that losht his head."

THE office of THE STANDARD is at No. 39 Nassau street, Room 43. Office hours—9 a. m. to 3 p. m. Editors office hours—10 a. m. to 1 p. m.

LETTERS for Susan B. Anthony should be addressed hereafter to 464 West 34th st., New York.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

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Miscellaneous Department.

AUTUMN SONG.

(FROM THE GERMAN OF GEIBEL.)

TRANSLATED FOR THE "COMMONWEALTH," BY A. T. W.

Now streameth clear from heaven
The day o'er all so bright;
Of deepest blue 'tis woven
And gleaming, gold sunlight.

The wood once more will blossom,
Ere it fades in winter gray;
It shines in golden splendor,
And laughs in purple gay.

And far in splendor glowing
Shines every mountain-side,
And Sabbath stillness floweth
In the valley far and wide.

O friend, at this glad season
Why should it wondrous seem
If thy heart all its sorrows
Forgetteth like a dream?

That on the olden troubles
With smiles alone thou think'st,
And in the golden morning
So full and freely sink'st.

O give thyself to gladness
With thy whole heart and mind;
Drink in this fairy splendor
To the whole world assigned.

Let song and quiet marry
To harp-strings ringing mild,
And be the last grief's shadow
By music reconciled.

Now of new wine a beaker
To the sun I quaff to-day;
Demands the draught the blessing;
Thus blessing I would pray:

When, after joy and sorrow, breaks
Thy heart, as break it will,
May it part like this Autumn,
So grand, serene and still.

In these days so blue and sunny,
That so lightly take their flight,
Ah, what deep, intensest rapture!
O what quiet softly bright!

Gentle sleep and radiant morning
Nothing know of anxious care,
And on wings the spirit hovers
To all places dear and fair.

In these days so blue and free,
That, like waves which gently hold me,
Bear me onward to life's sea,
Must I ever asking be,
Shall I never more behold thee,
Darling of my soul, again!

Now creep o'er hedge and thicket
Pale gleams of sunshine brief;
In the still Autumn forest
Falls slowly leaf on leaf.
The world in death is sleeping now,
What is there more? Ah thou, too, thou
My heart shall soon discover
A couch unshared by grief.

From off Life's tree thou brokest
The fruits it gave; 'twas meet;
Youth's dewy sprays of roses
Love's heavenly bread so sweet.
Yet will the storm's wild rage at last
The last poor leaflet earthward cast;
So bend thee, so bend thee
Smiling thy death to greet.

SLEEPLESSNESS.

From the Spectator.

THEOLOGIANS and poets, physiologists and metaphysicians have all endeavored to write profoundly on the phenomena of sleep, and have all more or less lost themselves in a subject which, whenever studied, takes a fixed hold of the imagination. The existence of a bodily condition which is not death, yet suspends mental life, which is consistent with motion, but not with thought, which can continue while half the mind is at work, yet ends if all begins to work together, suggests strange ideas on the oldest of all speculations, the connection between matter and spirit. The materialist has derived some of his best arguments from a state which shows every day that, whether or not the mind be the outcome of physical action within the brain, say of a kind of voltaic pile working in the cells there, the moment that action is suspended, mind disappears. The spiritualist has no better proof of the existence of something independent of matter than the occasional but well known occurrence of complete mental operations, such as the solution of a geometrical problem, or the composition of a sonata, or the winning of a game at chess, having been completed while the body lay still in torpor. A grain of a drug extracted from the poppy juice will suspend mental power; how, then, can mind be immaterial? The mind will compel the tongue to speak while yet the rest of the body is powerless; how, then, can it be wholly material? The argument on either side is a thin one, the proof whether it is not the agent which is paralyzed instead of the master, remaining in all cases wanting, but it has occupied many minds. So, again, there has been writing for ever on the question whether men always dream, and only occasionally remember dreams, or only occasionally dream and always remember that they have dreamt. If the former is true, as Sir Henry Holland supposed, then something in us is independent of sleep, wants no rest while it lives, a strange fact from every point of view; if the second, what is it that suddenly disconnects the slumber of the body from the slumber of the mind? Can the nerves sleep and the mind act? and if so, why should a concussion of the spine necessarily produce partial fatuity? Many Asiatics, and, as we have read somewhere, some tribes of Russians, have a ghastly superstition about sleep. They believe that people exist who waking can talk the talk of sleepers, who can whisper, that is, to sleepers in a tone which compels the mind to act without waking the body, can therefore pour ideas and facts into the brain, say of a king, without his ever knowing the source of his beliefs. That superstition is groundless, and was probably built on the observation that some men are awaked instantly by the human voice and sleep again the moment it ceases, but it is an expression of the truth that the mind can *acquire* while the body sleeps. Then do people ever wake? Sleep is not stranger than the cessation of sleep, and can this ever occur without external influence, light, or sound, or pain? Suppose a man accustomed to sleep in the dark kept carefully away from light, and sound, and new currents of air, would he not sleep on till awoke by the actual pain of hunger? If the will is asleep he ought not to awake himself, and the common experience of mankind suggests the possibility of such oversleeping, but yet it also informs us that if we go to bed strongly willing to wake at a particular and unusual hour we do so awake. Was the will half asleep, dozy, as it were?

Among speculations of this kind a much more vulgar, but also much more useful, one stands some chance of being neglected, has indeed been neglected, rather to the discredit of physiology. Sleep being a physical condition, is it not possible to induce that condition without the use of drugs? A writer in the *Cornhill* this week discusses that question, of course without definite result, but he states in a popular form the most essential datum of the proposal, one much misconceived by the public. It used to be believed that the cause of sleep, or rather the proximate cause, was the turgidity of the blood-vessels of the brain. They pressed on something too hard and the man went to sleep. Alcohol, it was said, made them turgid, visibly flushing the face, and alcohol, it was clear, produced sleep. Unfortunately for the theory, physiologists, when they came to examine the matter with their clean minds and sceptical criticism, doubted if the facts corresponded to it, found that it was exactly the reverse of facts. A woman got her head broken conveniently and was watched, animals' heads were opened remorselessly, and it was ascertained that the probable cause of sleep was low circulation in the arteries of the brain. They got pallid in perfect sleep, and flushed in imperfect or dreamy sleep. "The principal evidence as to the human brain in sleep is derived from the observation of a woman at Montpellier, a case well known and often quoted. She had lost a portion of the skull-cap, and the brain and its membranes were exposed. 'When she was in deep or sound sleep, the brain lay in the skull almost motionless: when she was dreaming, it became elevated, and when her dreams, which she related on waking, were vivid or interesting, the brain was protruded through the cranial aperture.' This condition has also been experimentally brought about and observed in animals, and the same result has been seen, namely, that in sleep the surface of the brain and its membranes became pale, the veins ceased to be distended, and only a few small vessels containing arterial blood were discernable. When the animal was roused, a blush spread over the brain, which rose through the opening of the bone. The surface became bright red; innumerable vessels, unseen before, were now everywhere discernible, and the blood seemed to be coursing through them very rapidly. The veins, like the arteries, were full and distended, but their difference of color rendered them clearly distinguishable. When the animal was fed and again allowed to sink into repose, the blood-vessels gradually resumed their former dimensions and appearance, and the surface of the brain became pale as before. The contrast between the appearances of the brain during its period of functional activity and during its state of repose or sleep was most remarkable." Anything, then, that emptied the capillaries would help to produce sleep, and a false theory being out of the way, the facts were seen to bear out the new conclusion. Excitement, particularly the excitement of great mental toil or of an active exercise of the imagination, fills the arteries, and is, we all know, fatal to sleep. Let anybody work hard immediately after dinner, a very frequent practice with the literary class, and unless he works for hours, unless, that is, he fairly fatigues himself, or after working gives his brain an hour's rest in chat, or silence, or that reading which is not reading, but the most soothing of all mental occupations, an equivalent with many men for day-dreaming, he will toss for an hour before he sleeps. So he will also if he has become really interested at a theatre, though we admit that possibility is at present so rare as to be almost beyond the range of scientific experiment. His head, he says, "feels hot," or his "temples throb," or his eyes are dull and full of blood. Ice, again, applied to the head, has in many cases produced deep and apparently dreamless sleep, and a spirit like eau-de-cologne rubbed on the head has in a minor degree the same effect. But alcohol? Well, alcohol does not, people's eyes notwithstanding, fill the arteries of the brain. Practical physiologists are inclined to say that on the contrary it empties them, irritating the sympathetic nerves till they contract the large arteries, and the capillaries or little ones get no supply worth mentioning. We do not say—we are quite incompetent to say—that the question is settled, but we are entitled to say that a balance of scientific opinion and a larger balance of circumstantial evidence suggests the belief that the cardinal condition of natural sleep is a reduction of the arterial activity in the brain. There are other conditions dependent originally on the nervous system of which far less is known. Morphia, for example, must act first of all on the nerves, but the main condition is this; and if this be it, then it must be within the range of possibility for science to discover modes of inducing sleep without resort to drugs, none of which act precisely alike upon all constitutions.

People have been trying to discover this secret empirically for ages with wonderful little success, there being perhaps no subject on which the evidence of individual experimenters differs so greatly or is comparatively so useless. Nine-tenths of mankind believe that fatigue yields sleep as a sort of inevitable consequence, and so to most men it does, but there are constitutions in which fatigue involves sleeplessness, to which sleep, until they have rested, is absolutely impossible. Some men appear to have a control over sleep almost as absolute as they have over their limbs, to be able, so to speak, to compel the faculties to go to bed whenever it is convenient. The present writer can very nearly do that—can, that is, unless under a strong mental emotion, rely on going to sleep in five minutes in almost any attitude, at any hour of the day, and under almost any conditions, a sermon being perhaps the one most decidedly favorable. Some men, again, seem to have almost an incapacity of sleep, cannot get it except in a perfect silence quite unattainable in London, or perfect darkness, or at some fixed time, or in some peculiar attitude after a long period of bodily quiescence. They are "bad sleepers," and sleeplessness is, we suspect, one of the most frequent and most annoying concomitants of civilized life. One man of this kind tries to sleep by repeating the multiplication table, to "fatigue the brain into sleep," says the *Cornhill* essayist, but, as we should think, to refresh the brain by giving it work to do which requires no exertion at all. Instinct is almost always true, and the man who tries this trick, instinctively repeats bits, say, of well known poetry, not of poetry which he remembers only by mental effort. A great missionary troubled with sleeplessness used to say that he always repeated the Lord's Prayer till Satan sent him to sleep to get rid of it, and he never found the receipt fail. He rested the brain by a repetition which excluded thought and did not tax the memory, the Lord's Prayer being with most Englishmen, like the multiplication table, one of the very few things recalled without mental effort, or which often survive the decay of memory. This device operates, however, with very few, and a much better one, day-dreaming for five minutes, with still fewer. Some men find relief in washing, and that is sensible enough, the rough trituration of a towel, or still better of the flesh-brush, directing an extra supply of blood to the skin, to the great relief of the brain. The air-bath, once so strongly believed in, depends on the same principle. All Anglo-Indians assert that a cool head is the great condition of ready sleep, and if this is so, which is almost certain, a water pillow ought to induce it, an experiment, we believe, scarcely tried. The Anglo-Indians use pillows covered with a singularly fine cane, the glaze on which never heats, but the pillow itself should be cool. We suspect that the particularly nasty Western contrivance, the feather or down pillow, which heats the head, and which no amount of clean covers will keep really clean, is one cause at least of sleeplessness. Hindoos, the mass of whom use no pillow at all, but either lie prone or sleep on the arm, seem to command sleep almost at will, repudiate most emphatically the Western idea that a man was meant to sleep seven hours out of the twenty-four. Of all empirical remedies, however, the most certain is food. An idea has become current in England for years, originating, we believe, entirely in a social change as to the hour of meals, that eating is unfavorable to sleep, but the idea, as the *Cornhill* points out, is opposed not only to analogy, but to experience. All animals, all children, all savages, and all races which take no wine sleep immediately after eating. Who does not feel sleepy immediately after lunch, if he is stupid enough to eat a meal invented in order that by eating without enjoyment one may lose a little of one's capacity for work. Half the sleeplessness of great cities is due to the absurd hours we select for food. A savage eats and sleeps as a dog does; a Hindoo, fortunately for himself, is compelled by his creed to eat just before he sleeps, being prohibited from cooking twice in the same sun; but a civilized man eats, then while digestion ought to be going on does half the work of his life, and then, just as the body becomes wakeful again, settles himself into a bed specially constructed to bring the blood to his head. Of course feeding time will not be altered for the sake of sound sleep, nor fashion yield to hygiene, but it is possible to eat something at bed time, if only a crust, and if men who take wine would take it then, instead of after dinner—a villainous unsocial suggestion—they would find half their difficulty disappear. Still even with this fact clear, much more is still required which science alone can afford. It must be possible to reduce the flow of blood to the brain and to still excitable nerves without drugs, and if we could do it the diminution of misery would be enormous. Any system which really increased the average capacity for sleep would benefit nervous disease, increase the habitableness of great cities, and probably diminish perceptibly the average of lunacy. There are physiologists working among us painfully endeavoring to ascertain the laws which connect mind and matter; will not some one of them at once utilize his knowledge and earn an enduring reputation by a successful attack on the great foe of great cities—the habit of sleeplessness?

NEW ENGLAND DYING OUT.—About three-fourths of all the children born in Boston during 1865, were of parents born in a foreign land; therefore, argues one of the papers, "the Yankee stock will in time die out in New England." We think by that time, Yankee stock will have peopled, will be the predominant stock of this continent, from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore. Because Yankee intelligence knows how to rear children to maturity, while foreign ignorance and filth kills, almost as soon as born; for out of every hundred children dying, eighty-eight are of foreign parentage, and this has been the rate for the last five years in New York city, where the native population is 49 per cent., and the foreign 51, or nearly equal, and it is presumed that the same proportion holds good in all our large cities. Hence if 62 per cent of the children born in Boston are of foreign parents, and 88 per cent. die, it is very easy to see they might as well not have been born at all—a great deal "mightier,"—as far as the question of the foreign outstrip the Yankee stock is concerned. The fact is, neither Yankee men, nor Yankee principles nor Yankee thrift, will ever die out, while this planet is inhabited; and if it is ever depopulated by a conflagration, the last survivor of a smouldering world will be brother Jonathan, at the death, singly and alone, resolutely trying to put out the fire; if by famine, the last loaf of bread will be owned by a Yankee.—*Hall's Journal of Health.*

BE TRUE.

BY H. BONAR, D. D.

Thou must be true thyself
If thou the truth would'st teach;
Thy soul must overflow, if thou
Another's soul would'st reach;
It needs the overflow of hearts
To give the lips full speech.

Think truly, and thy thoughts
Shall the world's famine feed;
Speak truly, and each word of thine
Shall be a fruitful seed;
Live truly, and thy life shall be
A great and noble creed.

GALE'S GUNPOWDER.

THE final government trials to test to the utmost the value of Mr. Gale's discovery were made on the largest scale lately in one of the Martello towers on the beach half-way between Hastings and Rye. Everything connected with these experiments was entirely managed by the members of the Ordnance Select Committee, and workmen from Woolwich Arsenal were employed to mix the strongest government powder with the protecting composition, to barrel it, and to stack it in the Martello tower. Mr. Gale's only share in the proceedings was that he furnished the protecting compound, that his directions as to its mixture were implicitly followed, and that when all was ready he was invited to be present at these official tests, which, like all such, were very properly of the most severe and exacting kind. In the result they proved most triumphantly that Mr. Gale is right when he asserts that by means of his mixture the strongest powder can easily be rendered not only non-explosive, but even almost incombustible, and this without in the slightest degree deteriorating from its destructive power when the powder is separated, as it can be at once, from his protecting compound. Certainly, all efforts to blow up five tons of powder, when mixed according to Mr. Gale's directions not only proved utterly fruitless, but the powder actually twice went out, and it was after all found necessary to set fire to the woodwork of the Martello tower in which it was stored in order to consume it at all, and even then this was not entirely accomplished. Nothing, therefore, could possibly have been more complete than the success of the experiment. It is nearly fifteen years since Mr. Gale began to direct his attention as a chymist and electrician to the discovery of a material which when mixed with gunpowder should render the whole mass at once fireproof, waterproof, and air-tight, and at the same time be easily separable, and when separated leave the gunpowder totally uninjured. It is needless to say how many and how combined were the compositions tried before one at last was found to fulfil all these apparently irreconcilable conditions. This composition is nothing more nor less than powdered glass prepared in a peculiar manner. The commonest glass is heated to a bright whiteness, and then plunged into cold water, which renders it so friable as to be easily pressed to powder between the fingers. In this state it is placed in a machine shaped like a cask, in which are many small iron shot, and the machine being revolved rapidly, a minute or a minute and a half suffices to reduce the glass to a powder so impalpable that even fine wheat flour is course in comparison with it. This is mixed with the powder in the proportion of two parts to one, if it is only meant to render it non-explosive, but still leave it fiercely combustible; in the proportion of three-parts of ground glass to one of common powder, if it is meant to make it almost incombustible; and in the proportion of four parts to one of the strongest gunpowder to make the latter absolutely harmless. Four parts are, however, generally considered necessary only for the strongest government common powder. The method of mixing the two is simply by an adaptation of Robinson's cask-cleaning machine, which gives to the cask it holds a rapid double motion, two minutes of which is sufficient to blend the ground glass and the coarse grains of powder perfectly. So complete is the mixture that of 40 samples taken from as many casks after two minutes mixing the relative proportions of the two materials were found to be in all cases absolutely exact. The forty 5lb. samples when separated were all found to contain precisely 1lb. of gunpowder and 4lb. of powdered glass. The separation of the powder from the glass is made in a few seconds by coarse copper sieves. The grain of the best government powder for cannon is nearly as large as a coffee bean, and this coarseness, combined with the fineness and weight of the powder glass, enables the two to be separated almost instantaneously, and a very simple piece of copper machinery has been devised which will effect this process even more quickly and on the largest scale. One of the most important questions to be ascertained was whether the minute portions of the powdered glass, which more or less adhered to the grains of gunpowder after sifting, in any way affected its explosive qualities. For some time past, therefore, the Ordnance Select Committee have made a most careful series of experiments to resolve this doubt, and the decision they have come to is that neither in rapidity of ignition nor explosive force is the gunpowder in any way deteriorated. Not only is it not injured, but its complete preservation from damp—almost as important in the case of powder as its preservation from fire—makes Mr. Gale's method of mixing far preferable to the present mode of stowage. The objections to the bulk which powder when thus mixed would occupy in the government stores have also in a great measure disappeared upon examination. About 25 per cent. of the kegs in which gunpowder is now packed are left empty that the grain may be free to roll, and so prevent their "cakeing." This necessary precaution, however, induces another evil, which is that the constant friction of the grains often reduces half the contents of a keg to dust, and immense quantities are thus yearly returned to the mills to be re-corned before it can be used. Of course, against all these evils of fire, water, friction, or deterioration, Mr. Gale's discovery is an absolute specific. With the adoption of his plan all the necessities for costly magazines would disappear, and so also would those huge spaces of waste land which are obliged to be kept free round these perilous storehouses, and on which farmers may not venture to cultivate, nor architects to build. In the matter of transport alone this new method of mixing powder would effect a saving of £5 10s per ton.

A TEETOTAL MARTYR.

THE crown of martyrdom has lately fallen to the lot of a teetotaler. Noah Wareman lived at Portsmouth, in the low district of the town, named Mary-le-bonne. But Noah, unlike his great namesake, refused strong drink. In fact, he was a downright staunch temperance man. The fact was well known, and the poor wretched riffraff of the district who spent their earnings at the ginshop and the pawnshop couldn't bear the thought of having a constant preacher against them in the shape of Noah Wareman. It does not, however, appear that the poor man ever preached against them save by his good example. But if Noah was respectable and respected while they were degraded and despised, it was their fault and not his. Such a logical view as this, of course, never presented itself to the inhabitants of Mary-le-bonne. So whenever Noah was in the streets, the poor benighted savages hooted and howled at him like wolves. His wife testifies that dead vermin had been thrown at him, and that he had been held down in the streets while dirt was being forced into his mouth. And this took place in Christian England. These indignities were offered to a man because he refused—refused what? To labor? To support his family? To send them to school? No; but because he refused to drink intoxicating liquors. The crime of crimes, and the crime for which the poor man died, was that of refusing to become a drunkard. Noah Wareman might have had a drunken father—he might have had a drunken mother for anything anybody knew. He might have seen both his parents die mad from drink, or go down wasting by slow degrees to an early grave because of it, and horror-stricken have fled from the too awful example and have become a temperance ascetic. But if he drew his scorn of drunkenness from no domestic knowledge of how it blights and breaks up all that is pure and good in man; if he drew his scorn of it from the wrong it was daily doing the inhabitants in the narrow streets of Mary-le-bonne at Portsmouth, he had its warrant for it, full and big enough. And every man who refuses to drink, has his warrant. I am not a teetotaler, but I should not be ashamed to be one. And blind of eye and perverse of thought must that man be who cannot see and will not admit that teetotalism has been one of the greatest reformers of morals Ireland and England have ever had. The best of men belong to it—men who forego strong drinks on principle and in order to influence others. There are vices outside of drunkenness innumerable; but nevertheless drunkenness does incline to everyone of them. If there is a bridge required to bring two vices together, drunkenness will supply it. The intending murderer drinks to dull his conscience before doing his deed, and drinks again to deaden it after the deed is done. But why enlarge upon what is so plain? Not to make drunkenness more hateful, but to make them ashamed who vilify and maltreat those who by their lives and speech encourage others to temperance. Poor Noah Wareman has died a martyr to teetotal principles. I hope in that very district of Portsmouth where he was mobbed to death, a statue will be erected to his memory. Then let the senseless people who, with a cruelty wanting of Ashantee, killed a harmless man, read the story of their shame. Let his statue point the moral, and adorn the tale that some have such a mad fanaticism in favor of drink that they lose all sense of humanity towards those who differ from them. If this be done, Noah Wareman will not have been murdered in vain.—*London Correspondent of the Luton Times.*

BURIED ALIVE.

THE following facts, showing the numerous instances in which persons have been buried alive, have been collected by a French gentleman. At Toulouse, a lady having been buried in the church of the Capuchin Friars, with a diamond ring on her finger, a servant entered the vault to steal the ring, and, as the finger was swelled, and the ring would not come off, he began cutting the finger. On hearing a loud shriek from the deceased, the thief fell senseless. At the time of morning prayers, the monks having heard some groans, found the lady alive and the servant dead. Thus death had its prey; there was but a change of victims. A street porter in Paris, having died at the Hotel Dieu, was carried with the other dead, into the same grave. Recovering his senses towards 11 o'clock at night, he tore open his winding sheet, made his way to his house, knocked at the door, which was not opened to him without some difficulty, and took possession of his lodgings. At the close of the last century, a woman in Paris was thought to be dead, and the body was put on some straw, with a taper at her feet. Some men who sat up with the corpse, in a frolic overturned the taper. This set the straw on fire. The deceased, whose body the flames now reached, uttered a piercing shriek. Timely assistance was rendered, and she so well recovered, that after her resurrection, she became the mother of several children.

On the 21st of November, 1763, the Abbe Prevot, well known for his literary productions, was taken with an apoplectic fit as he was travelling through the forests of Chantilly. Being supposed dead, he was carried to the house of the mayor of the village, and the magistrate directed a post-mortem examination to be commenced. A piercing shriek uttered by the unfortunate man proved that he was alive. He died under the scalpel. Dr. Deveux, a surgeon of St. Come Hospital, Paris, had a maid, a servant who had been three times brought to burial. She did not recover the last time till they were lowering her coffin into the grave. That woman having died anew, the body was kept six days, lest they should have to bring her back a fourth time. A Mr. Rousseau, of Rouen, had married a lady of fourteen, whom he left in perfect health, when starting on a short journey. After a few days, he heard that unless he returned immediately, he would find his wife buried. On reaching home he found the funeral ready. In an agony of grief he had the coffin removed to his room and unscrewed.

He placed the body on a bed, and ordered twenty-five incisions to be made in it. At the twenth-sixth, probably deeper than the others, the deceased exclaimed, "How severely you hurt me." Medical assistance was immediately given. The lady had afterward six children. The wife of Mr. Duhamel, a celebrated lawyer, having been supposed dead twenty-four hours, the body was placed on the table for the purpose of preparing it for burial. Her husband strongly opposed it, not believing her dead. To ascertain it, knowing she was very fond of the cymbal, and the tunes which cymbal-players sing, he called one. On hearing the instrument and voice, the deceased recovered motion and speech. She survived her apparent death forty years.

Andre Vesale, physician to Charles V. and Philip II. after attending a Spanish grandee, thought him dead. Having obtained leave to examine the body, he had scarcely opened the chest, when he perceived the heart palpitated. The relatives of the deceased prosecuted him as guilty of murder—the Inquisitor as guilty of profaneness. Through the intercession of the King, he was sent on a mission to the Holy Land, and thus escaped death.

In the sitting of the Royal Academy of Medicine, in 1827, a paper was read by Mr. Chauncy Chantournelle, on the danger of hasty inhumations. This led to a discussion, in which Mr. Desgenettes stated that he had heard from Mr. Thouret, who had superintended the human remains of the cemetery, and the Charnel House des Innocens, that many skeletons had been found in positions showing that the individuals had moved in their coffins.

Mr. Thouret was so much struck with the revelation, that he caused a clause to be inserted in his will respecting his own interment.

MR. BUCKLAND'S MONKEY.

I LATELY had a little monkey, who was such a great thief, that if he had been a human being he would have been transported over and over again for numerous acts of petty larceny. I, however, turned his thieving propensities to good account. Master Jack (after I had had him some time) showed evident symptoms of phthisis or consumption, and I prescribed cod liver oil. It was placed openly before him on the dining-room table, but he refused it with symptoms of disgust and sundry tail-shakings. I then poured a little into a saucer, and placed in such a position that master Jack should find it for himself, while I pretended to be reading and not to notice what was going on. The trap took; Jack, thinking he was stealing the oil, sucked up the prescribed dose making a face, not implying nausea, but rather high glee at his own cleverness.

This "deceit," however, was after a time discovered by the artful creature, and one day I found my friend with his long tail and arms tightly coiled round the table lamp, and stealing the colza oil as it dropped down from the wick. He managed to get one of his long, spider-leg-like figers through the brass work of the lamp, and held it till a drop of oil fell on it; he then put it in his mouth and sucked off the oil like a child sucking sugar-candy. How he could manage to gaze at the intense light, which one would have thought would have hurt his eyes when so near the lighted wick, I know not. I fancy, however, that the light bothered him somewhat, for he used to frown dreadfully while he was waiting for the oil to drop on his finger. I placed colza oil before him; no, he would not touch it; but nevertheless he had no objection to it when he stole it for himself from the lamp. He was certainly better and fatter for his medicine, which was so sweet because stolen, and I really think it saved his life.

Jack, too, had a marvellous propensity for picking things to pieces, and smashing articles that came in his way; strange to say, he never tore a useless bit of paper, or broke a common or valueless bit of goods. One day he sneaked out of his cage, and had a good morning's work to himself, tearing off the leather and pulling out the lining of an old arm-chair. He was, after an hour or two, discovered in the act, and taken into custody to be duly chastised for his mischief. He cried "murder" when he saw preparations made to punish him, but at the same time he held out his hand, firmly closed upon something in it. His pickers and stealers were unclasped, and in the palm of his hand was discovered a half sovereign, which he had most certainly found and picked out of the chair, and which probably had been buried in the lining of the chair (an old second hand one) for years. His proffered ransom got him off his punishment, but his investigations into the structure of watches, books, ink and cruet stands, writing desks, MS. notes, etc., have not since produced equally valuable discoveries.

Nothing pleased Jack so much as to make his escape, Jack Sheppard fashion, from the wire cage in which he was kept by the kitchen fire. He would pick and pick with his long, skeleton-like fingers till he found the staple loose. If anybody happened to look round at him while he was at work he would drop instantly on the hay and pretend to be asleep. When he managed to get the door unfastened he would not bolt out in a moment, but push it open as gently and gradually as a burglar. He would then sneak out, and the cunning rascal would carry his chain on his tail to prevent it rattling on the stones and the servants detecting his pranks. His object was to get to my room, and on looking up I frequently found my friend nestled inside the fender. He came into the room so quietly that I did not know that he had escaped from his cage till he called my attention by a friendly chatter, as much as to say—"I've got loose so cleverly you really must not scold me for it."—*Frank Buckland's Curiosities of Natural History.*

PLEASANT.—To have an agent of an accident insurance company pass through a crowded railroad train, just before starting, and in a lugubrious voice cry out, "Insure in the accident company; will pay you $5,000 if you are killed, and $25 per week if injured." It gives rise to pleasant reflections.

GROVER AND BAKER'S

HIGHEST PREMIUM

ELASTIC STITCH FAMILY SEWING MACHINE.

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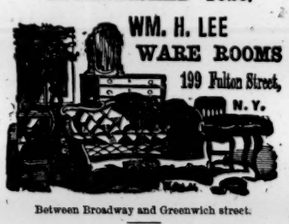

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